



REWRITING HISTORY

HOLOCAUST REVISIONISM TODAY



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REWRITING HISTORY: Holocaust revisionism today

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Rewriting History, gives an up-to-date account of the state of the so-called “historical revisionist” movement today, explaining who the key people and organisations behind it are.

By David Williams

Additional research by Graeme Atkinson, Steve Silver and the
HOPE not hate international network

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Write to us at: HOPE not hate PO Box 67476, London NW3 9RF

t: 020 7681 8660

e: office@hopenothate.org.uk

www.hopenothate.org.uk



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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

FIVE YEARS ago I was fortunate enough to visit Auschwitz, in Poland, with the Holocaust Educational Trust. I'm not sure if fortunate is necessarily the right word but it was a trip that was to make a lasting impression on me. Despite being early March the temperature was minus nine and several inches of snow lay on the ground. A survivor relayed his time in the death camp and how, unlike so many others, he managed to survive. The piles of glasses, the stack of shoes and the remnants of chimney stacks all told a story of suffering and death. But what struck me was the vastness of it all. Looking out from the tower the former German concentration camp seemed to extend beyond what the eye could see. The cold weather brought a harshness to it all. A bitterness and remoteness of a place where people came to be murdered.

And murdered they were. In all, just over one million people died during the four and a half years the camp was in existence; almost all of them were Jewish men, women and children. More people died here than the number of British and American troops who were killed during the duration of World War Two. Many more.

But fortunately some survived and were able to tell the world of the horrors inflicted on Jewish and other victims of Nazism in these camps and today groups like the Holocaust Educational Trust do a fantastic job in teaching the Holocaust to the next generation.

Having visited Auschwitz and heard the testimony of survivors it seems incomprehensible that people would deny the Holocaust or deliberately play down or distort what happened. But they do, and they do so for political reasons. And discovering who these people are and why they do it is the purpose of this ebook.

Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today builds upon a similar publication we produced in 2000, in the immediate aftermath of David Irving's failed libel action. It seeks to take stock of how the Holocaust revisionist movement has changed in the intervening decade. The publication examines how its arguments have morphed and adapted in order to continue its primary function of raining down derision, defamation and hatred upon Jews. It looks at those who deny the Holocaust happened, those who question key facts in order to deliberately undermine its significance



Auschwitz, in Poland

and those who attempt to relativise it in order to compare it to other conflicts and persecutions.

In particular this ebook looks at how Holocaust deniers and revisionists have sought to overhaul their antisemitic arguments in order to make them relevant for a broader public and more specifically to reach out to some in Muslim countries on the basis of “my enemy’s enemy is my friend”. How to do this – whilst still retaining their focus on attacking Jews and Judaism – has led the majority of Western Holocaust deniers, including many in Britain, to attempt to inject their antisemitic politics into the politics of anti-Zionism. This ebook also examines the interaction of Western Holocaust deniers, including those from Britain who are in the vanguard of this movement, with their counterparts in the Middle East (and especially Iran)

where their spurious and hateful arguments have a long history of being accorded a hearing unthinkable in Western society.

Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today is also important because Britain is a key hub in the Holocaust Revisionist world. Individuals and groups based here are some of the main conduits between the old-fashioned nazi Holocaust Deniers and those who use it as a means to attack Israel in the Middle East today. The English language, our liberal laws and a few determined individuals has meant that Britain is at the centre of a world wide web of hate.

More specifically *Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today* charts:

- The declining influence of traditional Holocaust Denial on the European far right;
- How the UK is the key bridge between the old style far right Holocaust Deniers and political actors in the Middle East who are increasingly using adopting both denial and revisionism as tools against Israel;
- The on-going global network and activity that was created by the Tehran conference in 2006;
- The explosion of Holocaust Revisionism and Holocaust Relativism in Eastern Europe in recent years and how much of this is in the political and academic mainstream;
- How some on the political left, particularly in Britain, at best ignore Holocaust Revisionism and at worst adopt it as part of their anti-Zionist/anti-Israel discourse;
- The key players in Holocaust Revisionism and profiles over 40 people.

We began work on this project about eighteen months ago but it was given added impetus over the controversy surround Gilad Atzmon's performance in Bradford last year. Atzmon is a well-known and talented jazz musician but he is also a strong critic of Israel, Jews in general and a Holocaust revisionist. Despite being Jewish himself, Atzmon has promoted Holocaust deniers and claims that the established history of the Holocaust is misleading. He attacks Jewish identity in a way that would clearly be recognised as racist if it were about any other minority identity and claims that people might think that Hitler was right about the Jews because of their behaviour today. He tells crude antisemitic jokes and mocks any concerns about antisemitism.

I asked the event organisers to withdraw his invitation. Not only was this request rebuffed but I came under a barrage of personal attacks on the internet. As I wrote at the time: "In all the years of writing this blog I don't think I have received as many abusive and angry emails as I have over this

issue, though it must be stressed that many of the emails are from the same two or three people.”

One of my central arguments was that if a British National Party (BNP) member had produced this then people would be up in outrage, so why the silence when it comes to Atzmon? I guess I should not have been surprised by Atzmon’s vitriolic outbursts but what was more disconcerting was the reaction of others, including people who I felt should have known better. Some were bought into the line that by attacking Atzmon I was somehow trying to silence critics of Israel. Others, including people I had worked closely with in fighting the far right, simply wanted to stay out of the fray and so remained silent. They privately accepted that Atzmon’s views were unacceptable but they were worried that by speaking out they too would come under attack. But then there were others, very critical of Israel, who both understand that Atzmon’s views were unacceptable and also that they were politically damaging to the wider Palestinian cause.

This ebook is not an attack on those who oppose Zionism or even those critical of the policies and actions of Israel. Quite the opposite. Rather, it is simply designed to highlight the networks and political motivation of those who deny or play down the Holocaust in order to either rehabilitate National Socialism or as a reason to attack Israel and Jews more generally. There should be no place for Holocaust denial or antisemitism of any kind – and it is imperative that we speak out against it in whatever form it takes and from whatever quarter it comes.

The Holocaust is one of the most horrific and systematic mass killings in modern world history and that is why it is so important that younger generations are taught about it. Just like the genocide in Rwanda, the killing fields of Cambodia and the deliberate murders of men and boys in Srebrenica, the Holocaust is the consequence of the politics of hate. It is vital that we never forget what happened and so it is just as important that we do not allow people – for whatever political reason – to deliberately re-write history and sanitise the ideology that caused it. The actors and audience of modern day Holocaust Revisionism might be different from what it was when David Irving went to the High Court in his failed bid to sue Deborah Lipstadt but the underlying motive is the same.

CHAPTER 2

The re-writing of history

HOLOCAUST DENIAL is, quite simply, the denial of the deliberate, systematic and industrialised mass murder of approximately six million Jews by Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime, the majority of who were killed during the course of the Second World War. The original Holocaust deniers were the Nazis themselves who sought to hide all trace of their attempted extermination of the Jews contemporaneously through the use of euphemistic language referring to their "evacuation" and "special treatment". Yet in private, the Nazi hierarchy could be quite open about its genocide of the Jews whilst simultaneously acknowledging the need for the utmost secrecy. This approach was encapsulated in a speech by Hitler's *Reichsführer SS* Heinrich Himmler, made to a gathering of one hundred and fifty SS officers in Posen on 4 October 1943:

I also want to talk to you quite frankly on a very grave matter. Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly and yet we will never speak of it publicly... I mean the evacuation of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish race... it is in our programme – elimination of the Jews; and we are doing it, exterminating them... Most of you know what it means when a hundred corpses are lying side by side or five hundred or a thousand... This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written.

Even as Himmler spoke, however, the tide of the war was turning against the Nazis. In the wake of the Battle of Stalingrad and the Allied invasion of Europe the following year, the Nazis raced to cover up the crimes which Himmler had proudly spoken of as "a page of glory in our history" only the year before. Gas chambers were hurriedly dynamited, camps hastily abandoned and surviving inmates dragged on "death marches" in a vain attempt to remove the last living testimony to Nazi atrocities from liberation by the advancing Allied forces. Others, too ill to march, were either shot out of hand or left to die. Even as they stared defeat in the face, the Nazis still attempted to kill as many Jews as possible. Much to their own chagrin they



Jewish families surrender after the failed Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943

did not succeed in completely extirpating all of Europe's Jews or indeed all their other racial and political opponents.

Since the military destruction of the Third Reich in 1945, Holocaust denial, insofar as it was understood in the West, has been viewed for what, in fact, it generally was: an attempt by surviving unreconstructed Nazis and their post-war acolytes to whitewash the monstrous crimes of the Third Reich's past in the hope of rehabilitating the Nazi regime. This fantasy – based on the denial of obvious historical fact – was never tenable. Memory of the Holocaust remains one of the principal stumbling blocks to the revitalisation of fascist politics, which is perhaps why fascist activists have gone to so much effort to deny the Nazis crimes during the last seventy years. However, largely because denying historical reality has been – and is – untenable, it has failed to resonate beyond the fetid confines of the neo-fascist political ghetto.

Accompanying the outright deniers are the Holocaust Revisionists, those who accept the existence of the camps but either dispute key facts and play down the number of people who were killed. Many Revisionists will argue that there was no German programme to exterminate the Jewish race, will often claim that there was not the systematic killing of Jewish people in gas chambers and say that the accepted belief that six million died is hugely exaggerated.

In addition to outright Holocaust Denial and Holocaust Revisionism is Holocaust Relativism. This is where the unique character of the Nazis' extermination programme is denied and Nazi crimes are compared to other acts of inhumanity.

There is a soft version of relativism where comparisons are sometimes made to the Holocaust by people who have no ill intent but invariably display their own ignorance of the systematic and industrial nature of the Nazi's genocide programme. This is often when campaigning on a contemporary human rights' issue. Those who innocently relativise the Holocaust unintentionally give succour to the outright deniers.

A more sinister form of relativism is what historian Deborah Lipstadt, who wrote the book *Denying the Holocaust*, describes as the "yes, but syndrome". In this form it is accepted that there was a Holocaust but they argue that most Jews died from starvation or typhus – as is the case in many conflicts – or they were killed because they were communist partisans or spies. This invariably leads to antisemitism because if the Holocaust was no different from massacres that occurred in other wars then the question is raised: Why is this the only one we hear about?

There are also those with a much deeper political motivation for relativising the Holocaust. In Eastern Europe in particular there is a significant movement pushing to have crimes committed in the former socialist countries equated to those committed by the Nazis. In some Eastern European countries this has led to the prosecution of Jewish partisans who fought against the Nazis in WW2.

These ideas have also permeated Western Europe and there have been attempts to get the European Union to ratify the concept of double genocide: the idea that crimes committed by communist governments were genocide and equal to that of the Nazi Holocaust.

The rallying call for double genocide relativism is the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism of 2008, signed by Conservative, Christian Democrat, Green and other MEPs and former heads of state. This equates the actions of the Soviet Union before, during and after World War 2 with those of Nazi Germany.

More information on the Prague Declaration and opposition to it can be found at <http://defendinghistory.com>



Over one million people died at Auschwitz

How Holocaust Denial Works

The methodology of Holocaust denial relies upon a number of mutually reinforcing “arguments” aimed at turning historical reality on its head. Foremost amongst these claims are the following:

- Hitler and the Nazis were not responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War
- there was no Nazi plan for genocide
- that all evidence of extermination camps is faked
- that gas chambers were erected *after* the war
- that *Zyklon B*, the gas used to murder Jews, was an insecticide
- that Jews and others who died in concentration camps died from diseases like typhus.
- that the Holocaust was invented to force Germany to pay for the establishment of the state of Israel, thus attempting to deny legitimacy to the state of Israel
- that the Holocaust is a Jewish conspiracy.

These arguments are buttressed by another level of subterfuge used to give credence to the claims of the deniers. These methods include:

- The use of bogus academic titles, scientific status and false descriptions to gain recognition and to give their views respectability and credibility. For example, Paul Rassinier was *never* a professor, David Irving has *no* academic qualification, Fred Leuchter is *not* a qualified engineer and there was *never* a Richard Harwood at the University of London.
- The claim, as in the cases of Ernst Zündel and David Irving, that they previously believed in the Holocaust until they had their eyes opened by “evidence” that convinced them otherwise.
- The emphasis on the death camps alone, falsely alleging that their opponents say that six million Jews were killed in these camps, while saying nothing about the Holocaust murders that involved the actions of the mobile SS killing squads – the *Einsatzgruppen* – or about the genocide committed as part of the Nazis murderous *T4* euthanasia programme.
- The suggestion that “eyewitness accounts” by deniers are valid, but that the massive documentation of the Holocaust and the eyewitness accounts of survivors have no validity and are to be totally discounted.
- Sophistry over expressions like *Sonderbehandlung* (“special treatment”) and *Endlösung* (“Final Solution”) used in Nazi documents in which they attribute meanings that in no way relate to the historical context or events.

- The use of the absence of a direct, written order by Adolf Hitler for mass extermination of the Jews to suggest, therefore, that it never happened.
- The *relativisation* of the unique events of the Holocaust – industrialised and systematic mass murder – by comparison with other examples, in world history, of genocide.
- The claim that the murder of the Jews was a *reaction*, for example to “Allied terror bombing” or “the declaration of war against Germany by the Jews”.
- The use of faked deaths statistics, falsely attributed, for example, to the Red Cross in Switzerland and the extensive use of selective quotations.

A Short History of Holocaust Denial

Having first emerged as a far right cottage industry in the late 1940s with the publication of *Nuremberg or the Promised Land* (1947), by the French fascist Maurice Bardèche, who claimed that “the final solution of the Jewish problem” actually referred to resettlement in the East *apropos* the Nazis own intentions. Whether or not Bardèche believed this or whether he was merely continuing his role as a willing Nazi collaborator into the post-war period is unclear.

Bardèche was followed by figures like Paul Rassinier, a social democrat who had fought for the resistance and had been imprisoned in Buchenwald and later Dora as a slave labourer, making him, at first glance, an unlikely denier. His denial of the Holocaust was driven by a melange of anti-communism and antisemitism, fuelled by his experience, in Buchenwald, of the camp’s *Kapos*. This appears to have been the motor that drove him to disbelieve any accounts of the concentration camp system emanating from either communists or Jews. It also led him to the belief that the testimony of Jewish inmates who had survived extermination camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau was also false. Rassinier, it should be noted, had *no* experience of the facility. This did not stop him from concluding that “the six million victims are only a shameful invention of an all-powerful world Jewry”. He cemented his place in the pantheon of Holocaust deniers with the publication of *The Lie of Ulysses* (1949) and *The Drama of the European Jews* (1964), his arguments gleefully taken up by Holocaust deniers in Europe and the United States where historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes began to propagate many of their fundamental tenets.

Thus Holocaust denial came to the fore as a central facet of neo-fascist rhetoric and ideology during the decades that followed. It reached its apogee in the 1970s, however, with the publication of such “seminal” works as *Did Six Million Really Die?* (1974) written by Richard Harwood, and *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976) written by Arthur R. Butz, a professor of Electrical Engineering at the North Western University. “Richard Harwood”

was a pseudonym for Richard Verrall a senior member of the National Front (NF), which sealed Holocaust denial at the heart of British fascist politics thereafter.

Having been distinguished initially by crude antisemitism and an obvious desire to rehabilitate the Third Reich, later works were characterised by their use of academic accoutrements such as footnotes which gave their publications a more authoritative appearance calculated to convince readers that they were reading a work of disinterested “scientific” scholarship rather than simply antisemitic propaganda.

In seeking to underpin this invented authority, the Holocaust deniers styled themselves as “revisionists” merely challenging their “orthodox” historical opponents in an effort to imply that a genuine, two-sided historical debate about the veracity of the Holocaust as a historical fact exists. Changing the register of its writings was combined with a shift in emphasis in the content of Holocaust denial material which moved to “examining” the historical documentary evidence, reinterpreting it and distorting it to dispute standard historical understandings by seizing upon minor errors in mainstream historiography in order to cast doubt on the facts. This was accompanied by a pronounced tendency to pick over the conflicts in survivor testimony in order to discredit it and to claim that admissions by the former perpetrators of the Nazi terror were forced from them by torture, thus rendering their reliability doubtful. Another favoured technique adopted by the deniers was to compare the death toll of the Holocaust (revised radically downwards) to death tolls caused by the Allied bombing of German cities such as Dresden and Hamburg (revised radically upwards). Such arguments sought to place the Axis on a morally equivalent plane to the Allies and thereby minimise the importance of the Nazis’ crimes.

Whatever the techniques adopted, however, the basic line of attack throughout its history has been to assert that the Holocaust is a “myth” and a “hoax” used to defame Germany and “invented” to justify the existence and actions of the state of Israel since its foundation in 1948. Despite innovations in style and argumentation in large part, however, the consumption and distribution of such works in Europe and the United States was confined largely to the far right fringe which revelled in its own antisemitic irrelevance whilst somehow also convincing itself that it had discovered the optimal weapon in its fight against liberal democracy without ever realising that the espousal of such views in fact made a resurrection of fascist ideology even more unlikely.

CHAPTER 3

The David Irving Case

THE ISSUE of Holocaust denial and the memory of the Second World War were brought sharply into focus, in Britain in particular, as a result of the libel action brought by David Irving, Britain's foremost Holocaust denier against an American academic, Professor Deborah Lipstadt.

This story began in 1993 with the publication of *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* by Professor Lipstadt, the Dorot Chair in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, which presented a history of Holocaust denial. It was not the first book to do so and nor was it the last. What was special about the book, however, was the response it elicited from one reader in particular: David Caldwell Irving.

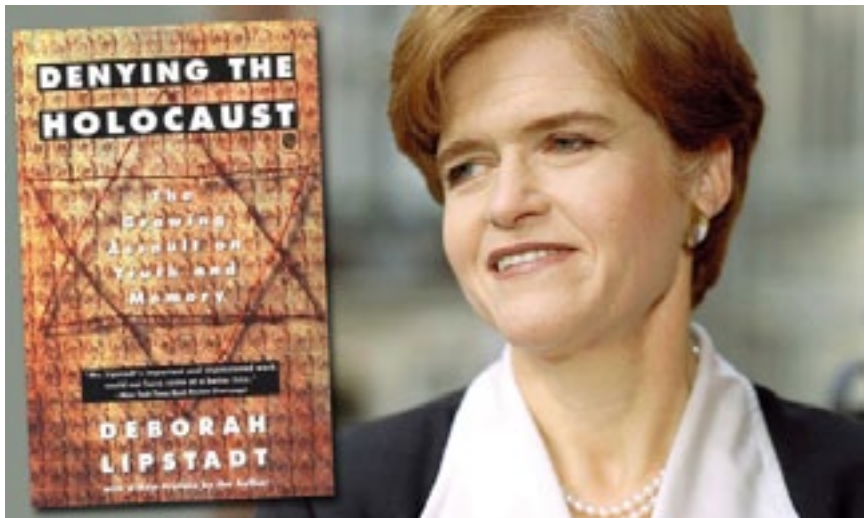
Irving was well known by this time as Britain's premier "revisionist" historian. He had built his controversial career on the back of a raft of books relating to the history of the Third Reich including *The Destruction of Dresden* (1963) and *Hitler's War* (1977), the latter of which argued that Hitler had no knowledge of the "Final Solution" to the "Jewish Question". In 1983 he upped the ante by offering \$1,000 to anyone who could prove that Hitler knew anything about the Holocaust. It was only in 1988, following the publication of the notorious *Leuchter Report*, which he fully endorsed, going so far as to publish it under the imprint of his own Focal Point books, that Irving moved from "soft revisionism" to become a "full blown Holocaust denier".

Despite this self-evident pedigree, Irving chose to take umbrage to Lipstadt's mention of him in her book even though she referred to him on only sixteen of the book's two hundred and thirty five pages. Lipstadt had referred to him as one "of the most dangerous spokespersons of Holocaust denial" and described him as a "Hitler partisan wearing blinkers" who manipulated and distorted documents for his own ends. Irving attempted to silence her by issuing a libel writ in 1996, something he had been threatening to do since the previous year.

Irving's libel case against Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin Books, in 2000, in which Irving chose to represent himself, was an unmitigated disaster for him. Judge Justice Gray's withering verdict, delivered on 11 April 2000, throwing out the libel action and ruling that Irving was "a



(above) David Irving. (below) Professor Deborah Lipstadt



right-wing pro-Nazi polemicist” pursuing a political agenda rather than being the professional historian he purported to be, was a damning personal indictment of Irving and equally damning indictment of the entire political, social and cultural movement that underpinned and supported him in his denial of the Holocaust.

In the decade since Irving’s self-imposed career suicide, things have not been easy for him. His failed libel action bankrupted him. Worse was to come. Having travelled to Austria in November 2005 to address a student meeting, Irving was arrested and tried for “glorifying and identifying with the German Nazi Party”. In February 2006 he was sentenced to three years in jail, ostensibly as a result of two speeches he had made back in 1989 which breached Austrian law. In them Irving had dismissed the gas chambers at Auschwitz as a “fairy tale” and questioned the existence of extermination camps. His appeal against the sentence was upheld, however, and he was released in December 2006 after another judge stated ruled that the crimes were committed some time ago and that Irving had undergone an “impeccable conversion”.

This latter suggestion was somewhat premature. Indeed, at a press conference in London shortly after his release, Irving stated that he no longer felt constrained “to show remorse” adding that “They [the Jews] should ask themselves the question ‘Why have they been so hated for 3,000 years that there has been pogrom after pogrom in country after country?’ It’s the one question they seem to be very shy of”.

Irving continues his quest to exonerate Hitler from the burden of responsibility for the attempted extermination of the Jews. Regardless of his defiant stance, Irving’s sentence served to underline the point that for British Holocaust deniers the Continent was a dangerous place indeed.

Having kept a relatively low profile in the interim, in 2007 Irving addressed a public rally in Budapest of the far right *Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja* (MIÉP – Hungarian Justice and Life Party) which later descended into a riot as MIÉP supporters confronted the police. That year, Irving also launched a comeback tour in Britain. It was a sorry affair, however, revealing that Irving had been reduced to hawking his books at small private meetings, the venues for which were frequently cancelled as a result of anti-fascist pressure, and to audiences consisting almost entirely of neo-nazis, racist skinheads and aged antisemites. Some of the venues themselves were organised covertly by members of the British National Party (BNP). Perhaps the highlight of the year was an invitation to address the Oxford Union on the subject of “free speech”, an event to which Nick Griffin, leader of the BNP, was also invited though both men addressed audiences in separate rooms as, laughably, neither wished to be associated with the other.

The principal outlet for Irving’s views in recent years has, however, been

the United States where his tours have been organised by Jaenelle Antas, his Indianapolis-based personal assistant. She has overseen a revamp of his Focal Point books mail order service and the reprinting of many of his “classic” works, which continue to circulate on the far right. Irving has fared little better in the United States, however. His meetings have been cancelled, physically attacked and, at one, audience members have fought and stabbed each other.

To add to his woes, in November 2009, Irving had his e-mail address book hacked and his private e-mails published on-line revealing not only the breadth of his contacts but also, embarrassingly, that his working relationship with Antas was not always harmonious. To make matters worse Irving has had to leave the house in Windsor, Berkshire that he had rented from a wealthy American supporter following the seizure of his £1 million Mayfair home which he had lost when declared bankrupt in 2002. The downward spiral of Irving’s political and authorial career in the wake of his trial seems to mirror that of Holocaust denial movement in the round. By the opening of the 21st Century things were looking bleak indeed.

CHAPTER 4

The shifting sands of Holocaust Denial

LORD JUSTICE Gray's blistering judgement on David Irving and his methods seemed to many observers at the time to administer the *coup de grâce* to the career of the world's most famous Holocaust denier and the ideas he espoused. Irving's public fall from grace was followed shortly afterwards by an extremely damaging internecine feud between the key protagonists in the North American Holocaust denial movement which seriously retarded its efficacy and soured a number of long standing personal relationships within the scene. Symptomatic was the fact that in 2002 the Institute of Historical Review (IHR), the foremost engine of Holocaust denial in North America, which had been rent apart by such squabbles, finally ceased publishing its *Journal of Historical Review* because of a "lack of staff and funding". For nearly twenty years it had been something akin to the "paper of record" for the Holocaust denial movement, its demise much lamented by Holocaust deniers the world over. It is important not to overstate the setback, however. Although its organisational capacity is much diminished, the IHR continues to disseminate its antisemitic ideology through its website which, arguably, has a far wider reach than its journals and conferences aimed principally at antisemitic "insiders" ever did.

This impression of a movement in decline was reinforced by a series of similar setbacks that beset the Holocaust denial movement across Europe with a number of its principal outlets being forced to shut up shop. As



Selection of material from the Institute of Historical Review

with the case of the IHR, much of this has been offset by the rise of the Internet, which has mitigated much of the negative impact, allowing for the cheap and easy international circulation of Holocaust denial materials. Indeed social media platforms such as Facebook have opened new vistas for Holocaust deniers that are much harder to regulate, not least because they transcend national borders. However, new opportunities have brought with them new pitfalls. It is open to speculation that the increasing availability of tracts denying the Holocaust and the digital modes through which they are disseminated has contributed to a Europe-wide crackdown on those producing and distributing this material. The resulting imprisonment of key activists on charges of inciting racial hatred in recent years has seriously disrupted the movement's ability to produce its antisemitic propaganda and thus finance its operations.

This wave of prosecutions, spearheaded by the German and French authorities (but encompassing those in the Low Countries too), has seriously diminished the capacity of many leading activists to function. Perhaps the most conspicuous sign of the turning tide was the success of the German authorities in finally extraditing, trying and imprisoning the notorious Canadian-based Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel who was jailed for five years on 15 February 2007. Zündel's trial also led to the jailing of his lawyer Sylvia Stolz after she had announced to the courtroom that the Holocaust was "the biggest lie in world history". Zündel's other lawyer, Jürgen Rieger, the then deputy chairman of the neo-Nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD – National Democratic Party of Germany) and one of its financial benefactors, used the trial to claim that "millions of people could never have died in concentration camps – at most it couldn't have been more than a few thousand." Whilst the German Holocaust denial movement took solace from such public attestations of their faith, they, and indeed the NPD, suffered a blow later that year when Rieger died of a stroke. Zündel had also requested that Horst Mahler, another far right lawyer, also be part of his legal team. Mahler, a former member of the leftist terrorist group the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF – Red Army Faction) who morphed into a leading figure in the NPD, was denied the opportunity to assist Zündel after German courts, mindful that he was attempting to turn the trial into a circus, refused his application to take part. Mahler was subsequently jailed for six years in February 2009 on account of his own persistent Holocaust denial activities. Several weeks later, the same court that had jailed Zündel sentenced another prominent German Holocaust denier, Germar Rudolf, to two and a half years imprisonment.

This continental crackdown excluded Britain, which does not have such laws, and is therefore increasingly being seen as a safe or at least safer base of operations by foreign extremists. This belief has been strengthened by the



Gerald Frederick Töben with Lady Michèle Renouf

refusal of the British authorities to deport the Australian Holocaust denier Gerald Frederick Töben to face trial in Germany when he was arrested at Heathrow airport on 1 October 2008 whilst *en route* from the United States to Dubai. Sitting on the tarmac, Töben was served with a German arrest warrant, issued in 2004, having been sentenced to six months for “defaming the dead” by a German court in 1999. Töben, a prolific Holocaust denier, was, at the time of his arrest, awaiting the outcome of a trial in Australia where his organisation, the Adelaide Institute, had been in the vanguard of distributing Holocaust denial material despite a 2002 court order preventing him from doing so.

Lady Michèle Renouf, a devotee of David Irving, rushed to Töben’s aid. She “coordinated the defence campaign” for him and arranged for specialist extradition lawyers to represent him in court and challenge the validity of the arrest warrant. Both she and Irving sat as observers in court. The case ended in victory for Töben after a British court ruled that the extradition warrant was invalid. The German authorities subsequently abandoned their appeal, leading to Töben’s release from Wandsworth prison on 19 November. Later that evening, Töben celebrated his victory with Renouf at a champagne reception in St. James’s, central London. His success certainly emboldened some deniers. Töben’s luck failed him ultimately though. The following year he lost his case in Australia and was sentenced to three months in prison. Töben later wrote up his experiences as *Fifty Days in Gaol*. His case was also publicised by Palestinian-American writer Dr Hesham Tillawi who interviewed him for the *Current Issues* television

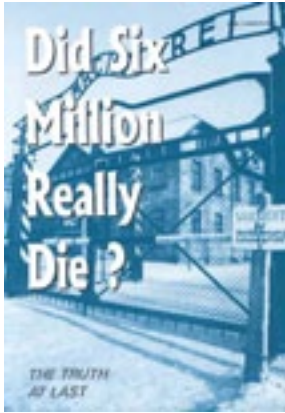
programme shortly after his release. The show, broadcast over the Internet and on public-access television from Louisiana in the United States, is a regular outlet for antisemites and Holocaust deniers.

Töben is not the only foreign extremist facing difficulties at home who has found succour in Britain in recent years. Prominent Holocaust deniers like Günther Deckert, a former chairman of the NPD, had previously entered the country quite legally, addressing white supremacist meetings associated with the British Peoples Party (BPP), a small nazi sect. The leadership of the BPP also runs the Redwatch website which targets political opponents for violent action by posting their personal details to the Internet. However, when Deckert tried to return recently for another far right meeting, he was arrested and deported.

It is important not to exaggerate the status of Britain as a safe haven, however. Britain has taken tough action against two of its own leading Holocaust deniers – Simon Sheppard and Stephen Whittle – for their Internet-based activities; the first cases of its kind in the country. Found guilty, the two men fled to the United States where they attempted to claim political asylum only to be imprisoned whilst awaiting the outcome of their hearing and then deported back to Britain to serve out their sentences. It should also be remembered that it was in a British courtroom that David Irving lost his libel case against Professor Deborah Lipstadt, despite the nation's notoriously tight libel laws.

This mixed picture aside, British Holocaust deniers have certainly profited from the authorities taking a more lenient view of their activities, a view based on a traditional liberal commitment to free speech which, though thoroughly laudable, has nevertheless given Holocaust deniers and other assorted antisemites greater scope to organise, travel and network in a way that makes them the envy of their continental counterparts.

For many years, the backbone of the Holocaust denial scene in Britain was the Historical Review Press (HRP), which bills itself as “the world's leading publisher of revisionist and hard-to-find political material”. The HRP, which operates from an industrial unit in Uckfield, Sussex, was run by Tony Hancock, a veteran far right publisher whose father was a member of Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) in the 1930s. Hancock junior was prominent in the activities of the Racial Preservation Society (RPS), one of the constituent components of the National Front (NF) on the South Coast in the late 1960s. Having been an NF member, he left the party in 1975 in the split which led to the formation of the short-lived National Party. He later became close to the League of St. George, a small nazi group with international pretensions. His main business, however, was printing. He “churned out books, newspapers, magazines and leaflets for every conceivable group on the extreme right”.



Did Six Million Really Die?
The Truth At Last
by Richard Harwood

Hancock perhaps surpassed himself in 1974 when he printed a short booklet entitled, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth At Last* by Richard Harwood (Verrall). During this period Hancock was also reputedly “very close” to some of those involved with a far right terrorist cell in Paris in the early 1980s, including Alex Oumow, who regularly stayed with Hancock and his family in Brighton. Hancock hit the headlines again in 2005 when he was ordered to pay an eye-watering £100,000 after being found guilty of libelling a local solicitor during the course of a two-year campaign of harassment against the man.

Despite this financial setback, Hancock continued to remain at the centre of an international network of Holocaust deniers. He worked closely with Germar Rudolf who, having fled Germany, set up shop in nearby Hastings from where he set up his own operation, the Theses and Dissertation Press. This innocuous academic sounding title was merely a front from behind which Rudolf served up some of the most shocking works of Holocaust denial. Whilst the Theses and Dissertation Press is no more, HRP remain active, maintaining a large catalogue of works endorsing National Socialism, racial science, antisemitism and Holocaust denial material. The HRP also continues to reprint “classic” works of the genre in order to keep them in circulation. This includes *Did Six Million Really Die?* In 2011 Hancock brought out a fully “expanded and updated” edition of the publication, the fifth since 1974, which, he claimed, “is one of the most comprehensive reviews of the ‘Six Million’ myth ever yet seen in print”. Hancock, however, died in June 2012, though HRP remains in existence.

But even before Hancock’s death, the Internet has perhaps served to usurp his role as the indispensable disseminator of Holocaust denial. Other figures like Lady Michèle Renouf have since emerged as being of more central importance to the international Holocaust denial movement.

Operating from a flat in West London Lady Michèle Renouf is the former wife of Sir Frank “the bank” Renouf, one of the founders of the New Zealand stock exchange. She denies that she is an antisemite but nevertheless describes Judaism as a “repugnant and hate-filled religion”. She rose to prominence in the wake of the Irving trial, which she attended religiously, helping to organise financial support for Irving’s family, looking after his website and several years later travelled to Vienna with a gaggle of followers to support him during the ill-fated trial that ended in his jailing.

Renouf has been particularly prominent in seeking to galvanise support campaigns for a range of Holocaust deniers currently languishing in prison. On 1 March 2010, for instance, she was filmed outside the gates of Mannheim prison clutching a bouquet of flowers which she presented to Ernst Zündel, on the morning of his release from prison, after serving three years of his five year sentence. The ever-faithful Richard Edmonds, then a senior BNP official, was also in tow. Such activities have led her to become a pivotal figure in a global network of Holocaust deniers and antisemites that spans from the neo-Nazi ghetto to the corridors of power in the Iranian state. The full scope of her activities, which extend well beyond providing aid and comfort to imprisoned deniers who languish at the margins of Western society, will be discussed elsewhere in this book.

European “revisionists” also took solace from the return to Britain of Bishop Richard Williamson whose position as a figure of authority has given their own racist prejudices the apparent seal of religious respectability. To seasoned observers, Williamson was already well known as an antisemite and Holocaust denier who had also claimed that the Twin Towers had been brought down in controlled explosions on 9/11 rather than as the result of a co-ordinated terrorist attack. In 1991, Williamson had regaled readers of his pastoral letter with his view that: “until [the Jews] re-discover their true Messianic vocation, they may be expected to continue fanatically agitating, in accordance with their false messianic vocation of Jewish world-dominion,



Bishop Richard Williamson



Lady Michèle Renouf

to prepare the Anti-Christ's throne in Jerusalem.”

It was not until November 2008, however, that Williamson publicly denied the Holocaust for the first time in an interview with Swedish TV. “I believe that the historical evidence is strongly against, is hugely against six million Jews having been deliberately gassed in gas chambers as a deliberate policy of Adolf Hitler,” Williamson said. The interview had an even greater impact because it was broadcast two days before the Pope Benedict XVI opened negotiations with the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), the traditionalist Catholic sect to which Williamson belonged to bring him and others who had been excommunicated from the Catholic Church in 1988 back into the fold of mainstream Catholicism. The SSPX, which was founded in 1970, represented the views of many Catholics profoundly alienated by the Vatican II reforms undertaken in the 1960s.

Williamson's remarks placed this process of rapprochement and reconciliation in jeopardy and the errant Bishop was forced to recant, an act of contrition that he undertook half-heartedly and unconvincingly, and even then without explicitly retracting his denial of the Holocaust. It is unlikely Williamson was particularly concerned about the damage he had done to the reputation of either the Vatican or the Pope, later dismissing the talks as a “dialogue of the deaf” in which either the SSPX “becomes a traitor or Rome converts”. Of rather more pressing concern to Williamson was not so much his sacking as head of the SSPX seminary in La Reja, Argentina, as a result



Richard Edmonds and Lady Michèle Renouf outside the German Embassy in London on August 11th to call for the release of the jailed Canadian revisionist author and publisher Ernst Zündel

of the furore, but rather his expulsion from the country by the Argentinian government. Williamson feared that, having been deported, upon arriving in Britain he would be extradited to Germany to stand trial where his notorious interview with Swedish television had been broadcast. With this fear at the forefront of his mind Williamson contacted David Irving who advised him “what he could safely say” without getting into legal difficulties which, in this case, was akin to shutting the gate after the horse had already bolted. Irving, in turn, also conferred with Renouf who again mobilised a legal team to fight any attempt to extradite the Bishop.

She and a small group of British Holocaust deniers, including Richard Edmonds, assembled to welcome Williamson home when he arrived at Heathrow airport on 25 February 2009. It is unlikely he saw them, however, as he was bundled into a waiting car and spirited away to a SSPX seminary in Wimbledon where the SSPX leadership instructed him in no uncertain terms to remain silent. Shortly afterwards, Williamson was prosecuted in Germany for Holocaust denial and fined €10,000 (£8,750). The SSPX forbade him from attending the trial in person. Williamson appealed against the verdict, engaging lawyer Wolfram Nahrath to handle the appeal. Nahrath was an NPD member and former leading figure in the *Wiking Jugend* (WJ – Viking Youth), which was banned in 1994, raising further questions about Williamson’s judgement and indeed hardline views regarding the Jews. Furious, Bishop Fellay, head of the SSPX, ordered Williamson to find a new lawyer or face expulsion from the religious order.

The appeal began on 4 July 2011 though Williamson was again not present in person. Contesting the verdict did Williamson few favours. His new lawyer, Edgar Weiler, tried to argue that his client’s infamous interview, widely circulated over the Internet, was never intended to be seen by the German public and therefore the appeal was based “exclusively [on] the jurisdiction of the German judiciary and the issue of public utterance” and not on the substance of his comments. Putting his remarks into the limelight once again also appears to have infuriated the SSPX which, even prior to the appeal, appears to have been keen to distance itself from their querulous prelate. Indeed, during the appeal itself, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported that Maximilian Krah, legal representative of the SSPX had stated that “Williamson was eccentric and had problems with reality”. On 11 July, the Regensburg appeals court dismissed Williamson’s appeal, confirming the 2010 incitement conviction, though it lowered his fine to €6,500 (£5,660) from the original €10,000.

Other than appealing against his 2010 conviction, Williamson had maintained a public silence since his infamous remarks in 2008. However, he continued working behind the scenes to spread his antisemitic beliefs. He has remained in constant contact with the likes of Lady Renouf,

regularly attending private dinners and meetings with her and others. He is also much admired by German Holocaust denier Horst Mahler, now a former NPD member, who sought to call him as a witness at his own 2009 trial for Holocaust denial. Indeed Mahler cited Williamson liberally as an authority for his own prejudices in “His Last Statement before Verdict and Imprisonment” issued on 25 February 2009. Mahler even had plans to use Williamson to educate his core followers in religious education, particularly in giving a theological explanation for antisemitism.

On the one occasion when he did publicly break his enforced silence, Williamson did so to grant an interview to Pierre Panet, an antisemitic renegade from the Left who subsequently stood as a candidate for Dieudonné M'bala M'bala's *Parti antisioniste* (anti-Zionist party). Dieudonné, a notorious antisemitic and “anti-Zionist” comedian of mixed parentage is close to the octogenarian Professor Robert Faurisson, a doyen of French Holocaust denial since the late 1970s. Dieudonné had publicly awarded Faurisson a “*prix de l'inféquentabilité et de l'insolence*” which was bestowed upon him by his assistant dressed as a concentration camp inmate replete with yellow star. This stunt earned Dieudonné another conviction. When Dieudonné found himself in court again in September 2009 Renouf and Peter Rushton, a leading figure in the white supremacist England First Party (EFP) who manages her website, were on hand to offer moral support. So too was Robert Faurisson. Dieudonné's Paris theatre also served as the venue for Faurisson's eightieth birthday celebrations attended by a welter of Holocaust deniers, “revisionists”, racists and radical Shi'ites. Williamson has his own relationship with Dieudonné. In January 2010, he baptized one of Dieudonné's children at the SSPX seminary in Wimbledon.

By the summer of 2012 even the SSPX had enough of Williamson. At a conference in June he called for the Superior General of the Society, Bishop Bernard Fellay, to be deposed. Two months later he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to about 100 lay people at a Benedictine Monastery in Brazil which sparked a complaint from the society's South American district superior. Williamson was ordered to toe the Church line and given a deadline to comply but when this was ignored he was expelled. A press release from DICI.org on October 24, 2012 stated that due to Williamson “refusing to show due respect and obedience to his lawful superiors, [he] was declared excluded from the SSPX by decision of the Superior General and its Council, on October 24th, 2012.”

Whilst the activism of figures like Renouf and Williamson are making Britain something of a crossroads for the activities of Holocaust deniers from across the globe, where does this leave the future direction of the Holocaust denial movement itself? This question has been the subject of fervent debate and angst-ridden soul-searching in recent years. On 7 January 2009, Mark Weber,

director of the California-based Institute of Historical Review (IHR), posted an article on his website entitled “How Relevant is Holocaust Revisionism?” Weber had begun his career in the avowedly neo-Nazi group the National Alliance (NA) founded by Dr William Pierce author of the infamous *Turner Diaries*, often seen as a blueprint for white supremacist terrorism. He had been director of the IHR since 1995 having succeeded in knocking its founder Willis Carto off his perch following a long and bruising legal battle to seize control of the organisation that Carto had founded in 1978.

Weber was a committed ideologue who had devoted most his adult life to the Nazi cause. His lamentation that Holocaust deniers had had “little success” in convincing the general public that the Holocaust was a hoax was, therefore, a rather surprising admission. But Weber went further in his critique of the “discouraging record of achievement” attained by the movement of which he was, and indeed remains, a leading exponent. Weber’s article was contained within it a thinly veiled attack on a group of Holocaust deniers, foremost amongst whom was Professor Robert Faurisson who, whilst not named in the article, was nevertheless one of those “revisionists” who, Weber noted, “insist that their work is vitally important because success in exposing the Holocaust as a hoax will deliver a shattering blow to Israel and Jewish-Zionist power”.

Faurisson certainly exemplified this approach. In an interview with the Algerian newspaper *Echorouk (Dawn)* in December 2006 he had declared:

We all have the means to help in the liberation of Palestine. These means consist in making known to the whole world the findings of revisionist research. All credibility must be taken away from the alleged ‘Holocaust’, which has become the number one weapon of Zionism and the State of Israel; this lie is the sword and shield of that State. It would be absurd to try to defend against the Israeli’s military armament whilst sparing their number one worldwide propaganda weapon.

Whoever allows himself to claim that the alleged Nazi gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews are a historical reality is, whether he likes it or not, giving support to a horrid lie that has become the number one war propaganda weapon of the State of Israel, a colonialist, racial and imperialist State. Let whoever has the nerve to support the ‘Holocaust’ myth look at his hands! His hands are red with the blood of Palestinian children!

Many Holocaust deniers share this view believing that if they can prove that the Holocaust was a “hoax” then the state of Israel no longer has a moral right

to exist. Such arguments are by no means novel for the far right. In 1983, for instance, David McCalden, an Ulster-born member of the National Front (NF) who relocated to the United States where he became one of the founders of the IHR stated: "... If you say anything about blacks or Jews, they say you want another Holocaust. If we can take away the Holocaust propaganda and put it away, then there will be an open, frank and free discussion on ethnic matters... if we can show that it didn't happen as they said it did, the Israelis won't have an excuse for depriving the Palestinians of their civil rights ..." Even then McCalden was singing an increasingly familiar tune.

Whilst Weber was not unsympathetic to such views – the IHR had long cultivated links to the Middle East for just this purpose – he objected to what he regarded as Faurisson's attempt to set out an explicit "political agenda for revisionism" that would not only shackle "revisionists" to one particular cause but would also in effect serve to alienate many of those who, whilst hostile to Israel, nevertheless did accept the reality of the Holocaust. Weber's vision was broader, arguing that "revisionism" was "important regardless of its relevance to Israel and Zionism". However, it was only one tool in the box. The narrow focus of "revisionists" like Faurisson, argued Weber, failed to comprehend that the increased prevalence of the Holocaust in Western culture since the 1960s was not a "source" of Jewish power but rather an "expression" of it. The focus of the "palpable reality" of "Jewish-Zionist power" therefore had to take precedence. "In that effort, Holocaust revisionism cannot play a central role". In mitigation Weber noted that it was not simply his view but the changing mores of the antisemitic community that invited this observation.

"Over the past ten years," he observed, "sales of IHR books, discs, flyers and other items about Holocaust history have steadily declined, along with enquiries about Holocaust history and requests for interviews on this subject. At the same time, and obviously reflecting broader social-cultural trends, there has been a marked rise in sales of IHR books, discs, flyers and other items about Jewish-Zionist power, the role of Jews in society, and so forth. This has been matched by an increase in the number of inquiries and requests for interviews on those issues." The IHR website certainly reflected this change, retailing a number of books and DVDs that purport to reveal the role played by this "lobby" foremost amongst which was John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt's *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (2007), a controversial book written by two mainstream academics and published by the entirely reputable Penguin Books. Weber regards this book as "a major contributing factor" to public awareness about the "role and impact" of Israel.

Used to refurbish their conspiratorial antisemitic arguments with a non-racist underpinning, the book has since been embraced by the far right;

endorsed by figures like David Duke who claim: “It is quite satisfying to see a body in the premier American university essentially come out and validate every major point I have been making since even before the war even started”. Weber’s reaction was similarly effusive. “I challenge any caring American,” he wrote, “to read this book without feeling shame over the leadership of this country, and disgust over the immorality and corruption of the compliant politicians of both major parties.”

In comparison when it came to exposing the “real world struggle” against this “Jewish-Zionist power” “Holocaust revisionism has proved to be as much a hindrance as a help,” argued Weber. This argument went down like a lead balloon with Holocaust denial’s most famous adherents. Leading figures in the movement lined up to denounce Weber in livid prose across the internet, none more so than Faurisson himself who demanded that he leave the IHR and create a different organisation to combat “Jewish-Zionist power”. Faurisson’s conclusion, having pilloried Weber as a coward who feared jail, was that he had “disgraced himself” and “must therefore resign”. He didn’t.

Whilst this spat would appear to suggest otherwise these two strategic strands regarding the future direction of the “revisionist” movement generally exist in perfect harmony. However, what the internal arguments suggest more than anything is the continual evolution of Holocaust denial away from its original roots and the rationale of the late 1940s that conceived of denial as, first and foremost, a propaganda tool aiming at the rehabilitation of the Third Reich. This daydream is long gone. However, whilst its original rationale has dissipated a new one has emerged in its place. In seeking to maintain some semblance of relevancy, the Holocaust denial movement has attempted to retool one of the central arguments in the canon of late 20th Century antisemitic prejudice so it can masquerade as a radical critique of the state of Israel and “Zionism”. As we shall see later, in propagating this latter view figures like Michèle Renouf have been particularly active in seeking to inject such racist arguments into the very heart of Middle East politics.

CHAPTER 5

Holocaust denial in Eastern Europe

EASTERN EUROPE was a bloodsoaked killing field during World War Two, both for the Nazis and indigenous Jew-haters, and other assorted collaborators who expended considerable effort in deporting and exterminating their local Jewish populations. It is hardly surprising therefore that history and memory loom large in the region as the countries involved struggle to come to terms with this bloody legacy. A matter further complicated by the fact that most have only recently emerged from under the shadow of a lengthy period of Soviet-sponsored rule which has had its own ramifications for how the past is and is not remembered and commemorated.

Romanian and Moldova are cases in point. As the International Commission of the Holocaust in Romania, more commonly known as the Elie Wiesel Commission, noted:

Of all the allies of Nazi Germany, Romania bears responsibility for the deaths of more Jews than any country other than Germany itself. The murders committed in Iasi, Odessa, Bogdanovka, Domanovka, and Peciora, for example, were among the most hideous murders committed against Jews anywhere during the Holocaust. Romania committed genocide against the Jews. The survival of Jews in some parts of the country does not alter this reality.

Denying, minimising or trivialising the extent of the Holocaust remains a mainstream phenomenon in Romania despite such emphatic pronouncements. Historical revisionism is widespread in the media and indeed in the statements of various members of the cultural and political elite, including politicians, journalists and historians, who continue to seek the rehabilitation of Marshal Ion Antonescu, Romania's wartime dictator. Antonescu's record was particularly abysmal and, following the fall of Romania, he was arrested, tried and executed in 1946, having been found guilty of war crimes. Amongst other things, Antonescu presided over the mass murder of Jews in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria, all under Romanian control, killing or deporting over half of the Jewish population in acts frequently characterised by such utter sadism that even their German

overlords felt compelled to complain on occasions.

Outright or “integral” Holocaust denial in Romania represents “a wholesale Western ‘import,’ with no traces of local originality” observed the Wiesel Commission. This particular intellectual import is deemed to have made a “substantial contribution” to the emergence and dissemination of such trends within the country with the writings of figures like David Irving being heartily recommended by Romanian antisemites. Historical “revisionism” both in Romania and indeed across Eastern Europe and the Baltic states is perhaps a far more common and complex phenomenon than it is in the West with various gradations ranging from the universal, to the deflective, to the particularistic.

Deflective denial, which seeks to channel responsibility and guilt for the Holocaust in numerous directions away from one set of perpetrators to another, is widespread. This process, which has its origins in the Second World War itself, had its foundations firmly reinforced by the communist regimes that argued prior to their collapse in 1989, that Germany bore the sole responsibility for the Holocaust. Such “national” narratives provided breathing room for those countries that often sought to excuse their own role during the war. Another increasingly popular narrative after the fall of communism in 1989 was to portray Romania not as a steadfast friend of Nazism but rather as one of its “victims”. Into this was fed the argument that the ravages of communism could be blamed upon “the Jews” which in turn bolstered the nationalist argument that Antonescu had been justified in his actions. In the 1970s, the argument also deflected blame for Antonescu’s murderous policies onto the “bandits” and “hooligans” of the fascist Legionary movement, the Iron Guard.

Despite a myriad of arguments that seek to reduce Romania’s responsibility for the mass murder of thousands of Jews under its control, in March 2002 the country instituted Emergency Ordinance no. 31 aimed at criminalising denial and the memorialisation of war criminals like Antonescu. However, given that there were already a number of memorials, plaques and roads named after him and his followers, this was more often honoured in the breach than in the observance. For a country whose wartime regime had enthusiastically participated in the Holocaust this was a step forward. That said, the pervasive nature of “revisionism” in Romania was underlined the following year when, in June 2003, the Romanian government itself issued a statement saying it encouraged “investigation into the phenomenon of the Holocaust in Europe, including allowing access to documents found in Romanian archives”. It went on to claim that inside Romania, “there was no Holocaust between 1940 and 1945”.

Amidst an international furore that led to a diplomatic standoff with Israel, the Romanian Culture Minister Razvan Theodorescu was forced to

clarify the statement arguing that whilst Romania, an ally of Nazi Germany during the war, had actively taken part in the Holocaust both within its own borders and in territories it had occupied, what that statement had meant was that no camps as such were established on Romanian soil.

Days later it backed down completely, issuing a second statement in which it stated that successive administrations between 1940 and 1945 were “guilty of serious war crimes” and used “methods of discrimination and extermination” against Romanian Jews. It also recognised the government’s responsibility towards Holocaust survivors. The following year, the Romanian government held the country’s first Holocaust Memorial Day, a major staging post in the process through which the country might come to terms with its own past.

On the other end of the spectrum, on the streets of Romanian cities, there have been smaller scale incidents which, whether by design or default, also serve to whitewash the historical record. In 2009, Jewish properties and synagogues were subject to a wave of vandalism that saw dozens of tombstones desecrated and destroyed. Two years later, in June 2011, an individual or individuals repeatedly stole an exhibition about Jewish heritage and the Holocaust in Romania, which had been installed on the walls of Bucharest subway station. The culprit has yet to be apprehended. Politically motivated or not the effect was the same: To erase public memory of the Holocaust in Romania.

In neighbouring Moldova, the writings of Paul Goma, an anti-communist dissident exiled during the reign of Nicolae Ceaucescu whose security services had attempted to assassinate him, continue to remain popular. Goma is a controversial figure, notably for his trivialisation of the Holocaust. The central argument of his book *The Red Week* is that “the Red Holocaust,



Razvan Theodorescu



Paul Goma

planned by them too, began for us, Romanians, *one year earlier than theirs* [it stated] *on June 28 1940* – and it is not over even today”. In essence Goma is arguing that a “Red Holocaust” of the Romanian peoples began on 28 June when the Soviet Union demanded and received the provinces of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania and thus preceded the Holocaust of the Jewish peoples and continued after it had ceased in 1945.

Goma’s writings have been branded antisemitic, not least because they identify Jews as the “real” oppressors; culpable for bringing communist rule to Romania. Indeed, the author of a report on the extent of antisemitism in the country published in 2002 commented: “I do not think that there exists, in the production of the cultural post-communist elite, any writings that could be compared with the tireless hate of this former dissident”.

Despite such pronouncements Goma has been awarded several civic accolades including honorary citizenship of the town of Timisoara in the west of the country. The Moldovan youth association “Hyde Park” recently called for him to be accorded a similar honour in Chisinau, the Moldovan capital city. Goma’s writings remain popular and frequently propagated through extremist websites. This is not to detract from their wider appeal, however. During the course of 2003, the mainstream Moldovan newspaper *Timpul* went so far as to serialise parts of *The Red Week* though it ceased to do so following complaints. *Timpul* has continued to publish extremely xenophobic articles whilst another forum for such views has been provided by the newspaper *Literatura si Arta* (*Literature and Art*).

Goma is not alone. Historical revisionism is widespread, promoted by political figures like Iurie Colesnic (who republished and distributed Goma’s *The Red Week*) and Professor Anatol Petrencu, former president of the Association of Historians of Moldova, both of whom were associated with the European Action Movement and Alexandru Moraru.

The Moldovan media frequently portrays Antonescu in a positive light. One of the most prominent exponents of this is Ion Coja, a philology professor at Bucharest University who stood for mayor of the city in 2004, the principal point of his electoral platform being “the rehabilitation of Marshal Antonescu”. At this time, he also appeared on Romanian national television, two weeks after Holocaust Memorial Day, claiming that: “Not because they were Jews were they killed by the Romanian army, but because they committed reprehensible acts against the state... Almost 100% of the Jews killed died because they committed acts against the state... but in Romania there was no genocide.” His denial of the Holocaust, which included his denial of the mass murder of Jews in Transnistria by Romanian forces, led to an unsuccessful attempt to sue him in 2007. Undeterred, his website continues to deny that there was a systematic plan to exterminate the Jews.



Gheorghe Buzatu

Coja and figures like Gheorghe Buzatu, a collaborator of the *Partidul România Mare* (PRM – Greater Romania Party) who denied the Holocaust during the 2009 election campaign, are frequently given a forum for their views in *Timpul* and in the weekly *Jurnal de Chişinău*. Since the mid-1990s, Buzatu has been at the centre of a concerted campaign to rehabilitate Ion Antonescu through his position as head of the Centre for History and European Civilisation with the Romanian Academy and also through the Marshal Ion Antonescu Foundation. The PRM, which at its peak in 2007 returned five MEPs to the European Parliament, is led by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, a former Ceaucescu sycophant turned ardent nationalist, who had a long history of Holocaust denial, much of it imbibed from “English and American scholars”. In 2004, however, Tudor apparently experienced a Damascene conversion following which he publicly recanted earlier statements. Some commentators doubt the sincerity of this change of heart, not least because the PRM recently blamed its own electoral setbacks upon a “Jewish mafia”. Tudor had previously collaborated with Buzatu in the establishment of the Marshal Ion Antonescu Foundation in 1990 together with Iosif Constantin Dragan, a millionaire media magnate and Iron Guard sympathiser who made a point of bankrolling such activity until his death in 2008. The Foundation changed its name in 2002 to the League of Marshals in an effort to sidestep the Emergency Ordinance.

Newspapers associated with the PRM have continued to carry Holocaust denial material, some of it culled directly from Western European sources. Indeed, the party newspaper *Mișcarea* not only serialized the works of Italian Holocaust denier Carlo Mattogno but also presented Irving as “a legitimate and respectable scholarly authority by citing his work in arguments meant to exonerate Antonescu”.



*Ukrainian Interregional Academy of
Personnel Management*



*David Duke
lecturing in Ukraine*

Publications that support Tudor “carry cartoons with slanderous and scatological depictions of Hungarians, Jews and Gypsies. They would be banned in some Western democracies,” noted the late historian Tony Judt. The PRM also remains home to figures Vlad Hogeia, who in 2001 published an edited collection of his writings under the title *Naționalistul (The Nationalist)* which included chapter headings such as “What Holocaust?”, “Marshall Antonescu protected Jews from Romania” and “These Jews Who Run Our Lives”. The book was banned in 2001 though Hogeia escaped prosecution because of his parliamentary immunity. Numerous Moldovan politicians have also sought Antonescu’s rehabilitation including Vitalia Pavlicenco, leader of the *Partidul Național Liberal* (PNL – National Liberal Party) and Mihai Godea, former vice president of *Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova* (PLDM – Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova) who stood as an independent candidate for mayor of Chisinau in 2011.

In Ukraine, the main institution of open Holocaust denial and antisemitism is the Ukrainian Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP), a privately run institution with 45,000 students enrolled in branches across the country. As one report notes, in 2007, “Practically every issue of the newspapers and journals of MAUP and the party (*Information Bulletin, Ukrainian Gazette Plus, For Free Ukraine, For Ukrainian Ukraine, Personal Plus, and Personal*) featured antisemitic materials”.

In May 2007 the organisation opened a kiosk near to the Babi Yar bus station which openly sold such materials as *The Big Lie of the 20th Century: Myth of the Genocide of the Jews during World War II* and *Zionist Protocols – Sources and Documents*. It was open for less than

a month before the mayor of Kiev had it closed down. Perhaps MAUP's most infamous interlude, at least to Western observers, occurred when the university awarded a PhD to the Holocaust-denying white supremacist David Duke, a former KKK boss who had "lectured frequently" at the institution since 2002. Reporting the award, Duke's website claimed that:

During his doctoral defence Duke alleged that Jewish supremacism and extremism was growing even more radical. He said that the extremists have so taken over Israel that, 'Soon their only choices for a leader will be a mass murderer such as Ariel Sharon of Sabra and Shatila, or a maniac who wants to ethnically cleanse all of Palestine, Benjamin Netanyahu'.

According to Duke's website, "All the members of the Academic council agreed on the academic excellence of the dissertation and after his successful defense they unanimously voted to approve it and grant him the Doctor of Philosophy degree". MAUP also awarded an honorary doctorate to Andrzej Lepper, leader of the far right Polish populist-party *Samoobrona* (Self Defence).

In June 2005, MAUP staged an anti-Zionist conference which was attended by numerous Holocaust deniers including Duke and Serge Thion. Also present was Israel Shamir. Press reports noted that the Palestinian Authority representative in Ukraine, Walid Zakut, had also attended. In October 2006, Duke returned to address a MAUP conference on the topic of "Zionist" influence in the US media, one of his favourite topics. During the course of his talk, entitled "The Jewish Question through the eyes of an American" Duke declared that: "The powers of globalism and Zionism are reaching out and they are trying to control the lives, the values, the culture and the foreign policy of every nation on earth". MAUP's then president, Georgy Tschokin, himself a far right Ukrainian politician, was also supportive of the Iranian regime and cultivated ties with the country.

MAUP has also published a book by the Swiss Holocaust denier Jürgen Graf entitled *The Greatest Lie of the Twentieth Century*. Graf, who has a Ukrainian wife, is also particularly popular in Russia where he is also active. The president of MAUP, Boris Shukin, frequently repeats the old canard that "... in 1933 World Jewish congress announced the war against Nazi Germany" which is frequently invoked by antisemites in order to justify the Nazi's murderous policies. MAUP also often republishes newspaper articles from the Nazi period in Ukraine.

Figures such as Miron Kuropas, Piotr Mirchuk, Oleg Fedik, Yurii Borets, Marian Kots (and many others) have also minimised the extent

of the Holocaust in their writings and public pronouncements. In Lviv, the newspaper *For Free Ukraine* published an article titled “There were no crematoriums and gas chambers in Auschwitz”. The newspaper also published a set of articles under the title “Myth about the Holocaust”, which were subsequently collected and published in book form and devoted to the 10th anniversary of Ukraine’s independence. Teaching the history of the Holocaust in schools has often been attacked by Ukrainian nationalists.

Sections of the Ukrainian media have also proved receptive to the propagation of Holocaust denial and revisionism. In 2002, for example, the newspaper *Evening Lugansk* published an article whose authors stated that the Holocaust was military propaganda. It went on to state that Jews were not murdered in the concentration camps, but were in fact well looked after. The events at Babi Yar, a ravine on the outskirts of Kiev, where during 29-30 September 1941, the Nazis murdered 33,771 Jews, has also been subjected to sustained degradation by some Ukrainian newspapers.

The *Evening Kiev* newspaper published an article stating that the murder of several thousands of Jews was planned at Babi Yar with the help of Jewish Rabbis. This theme was developed by Tatiana Tur from Kiev whose article “Truth about Babi Yar” claimed that the Nazis had not killed Jews, but that the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, had killed Ukrainians. This article was subsequently republished by *Personal Plus*, an MAUP-affiliated publication. Its thesis was enthusiastically supported by Miroslav Dragan from the “Union of supporters of Ukraine in UPA”. It is perhaps hardly surprising then that the Holocaust memorial at Babi Yar and indeed others in other Ukrainian cities continue to be vandalised.

Vasily Yaremenko, a professor at MAUP, published an article in *Silski visti* (*Village News*), which is close to the Socialist Party in Ukraine, drawing



Dariusz Ratajczak



Adam Gmurczyk

on his book, published by MAUP, entitled *Jews in Ukraine Today: Reality without Myths* (2003). The book, which sought to minimise the Holocaust, claimed that 400,000 Jews had taken part in the Nazi invasion of Ukraine, thus alleging a Jewish-Nazi alliance as part and parcel of a wider campaign to rehabilitate the dark pages of the country's own war record. Whilst *Silski visti* was closed down in 2004, in part because of the scandal, neither Yaremenko nor MAUP faced any sanction. In some quarters, this gave rise to rumours that the newspaper had been set up and discredited through the machinations of its opponents which coincidentally also gave the state license to close down an oppositional newspaper.

In Poland, the principal Holocaust denier for many years was Dariusz Ratajczak (1962-2010), a former university lecturer who died of alcohol poisoning. His badly decomposed body was later found in his car. The far right maintain he was killed by the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. This view was also propagated on the website of the Iranian satellite television channel *Press TV*. Prior to his demise, Ratajczak had the dubious distinction of being the first ever Pole to be convicted of Holocaust denial as a result of his small-circulation, privately printed tract, *Niebezpieczne Tematy* (*Dangerous Topics*). His conviction earned Ratajczak a reputation as the principal "strong" denier in Poland; few others went as far. His subsequent trial resulted in his dismissal from his job at the University of Opole. Despite this, his activities were defended in 2000 by Ryszard Bender, a historian and a former MP in the Communist parliament of the 1980s who later became a leading figure in the *Liga Polskich Rodzin* (LPR – League of Polish Families), causing a national scandal. In 2002, Ratajczak stood as a candidate for the LPR, the same year he published his second book *Tematy Jeszcze Bardziej Niebezpieczne* (*A Subject Even More Dangerous*). In 2003, Ratajczak was appointed a "European Associate" of the Australian-based Holocaust denial outfit, the Adelaide Institute.

There are numerous other figures on the far right of Polish politics who, whilst not openly denying the Holocaust, do their best to relativise its meaning and significance. These include figures such as Tomasz Gabis, editor of the extreme-right publication *Stanczyk*, which achieved a certain level of notoriety for its attacks upon "the Holocaust religion". It has also promoted the works of Irving, Faurisson and Leuchter, throwing in eulogies for the fascist dictators Generals Franco and Pinchet for good measure.

The Polish political party perhaps most associated with the promotion of Holocaust denial, however, is the *Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski* (NOP – National Rebirth of Poland), led by Adam Gmurczyk. The NOP magazine *Szczerbiec* frequently publishes Holocaust denial articles written by David Irving. These are translated into Polish by the antisemitic author Bartłomiej Zborski. He also translated a number of Irving's books into Polish including

Wojna Hitlera (Hitler's War), one his most infamous works which alleged Hitler knew nothing of the Holocaust until 1943 and never gave any order for the extermination of the Jews. In 2000, Zborski came close to inducing Bellona, the state-owned publishing house of the Polish Defence Ministry into publishing a translation of Irving's biography of Hitler's henchman Hermann Göring, which would have been a step up from the small private publishing houses that had previously published his work in Poland. Zborski had also translated into Polish an edition of the infamous inspiration for racist terrorism, *The Turner Diaries*, by William Pierce, the late leader of the National Alliance, once the United States most successful neo-nazi grouplet. Although Bellona was forced to cancel its plans after a concerted campaign against it by the Polish anti-fascist group *Nigdy Wiecej* (Never Again), Holocaust deniers like Irving have continued to travel to Poland in an attempt to give their spurious "research" some form of credibility.

On 1 September 2010, Irving led a dozen admirers from Britain, North America, Germany and Australia to Poland, all of whom had paid \$2,500 for the privilege. According to the brochure for the event they were to visit Hitler's "Wolf's Lair" in Ketrzyn in the north east of the country where, "German army traitors" tried to assassinate the Führer in 1944. They were also taken to see Himmler's bunker and the German Army Headquarters. Irving also offered an "optional tour" of a "real" death camp, proposing to take the party to Treblinka. "Come invade Poland with us," his website joked. Others were less amused. News of the event caused uproar. The outrage was understandable. Approximately half of the Jews murdered by the Nazis came from Poland. Mischievously, Irving told the *Daily Telegraph* that he was "baffled" by the outcry and could not understand why the people of Poland were not "very grateful" that he was "setting the record straight".

Denying he was a denier, Irving proclaimed that his speech would certainly ruffle some feathers amongst his fellow "revisionists". Having visited Treblinka the previous July, he claimed that "There can be no doubt at all that the Nazis did murder hundreds of thousands of Jews by machine gunning them into pits all along the eastern front and in the Aktion Reinhardt camps, of which this camp, Treblinka, is one." This is not to suggest that Irving has stepped back from his original position of denial. There is no mention of the gassing of Jews, merely that hundreds of thousands, rather than millions, were machine-gunned. Treblinka itself was an extermination camp where the method of murder was gas. Irving's pronouncements on the subject, whilst appearing to acknowledge the Holocaust, in reality do nothing of the sort, such is the linguistic sleight of hand utilised by the deniers to further their cause.

In travelling to Poland to cast doubt on the reality of the Holocaust, Irving was travelling a well-trodden path. A decade beforehand, in

October 1999, the Australian Holocaust denier Richard Krege travelled to the Treblinka and Belzec death camps on a “research” trip funded by the Holocaust denying Adelaide Institute where he utilised “Ground Penetration Radar” to “prove” that no Jews were murdered there. News of his “discovery” was eagerly recounted by the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) in the United States. This incident did not achieve quite the same level of infamy as the “scientific” investigation of the gas chambers conducted by American Holocaust denier Fred Leuchter who travelled to Auschwitz, choosing to desecrate the site by stealing samples from the walls of the gas chambers in an effort to disprove the existence of the self-same phenomenon. The gruesome moment was captured by Errol Morris in his telling documentary of Leuchter *Dr Death: The rise and fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr* (1999) which also serves as a comprehensive rebuttal of his methodologies. Despite being decisively discredited, the “scientific” proof he offered as a result of his visit, entitled *The Leuchter Report*, was a seminal document that convinced Irving that the gas chambers were a “hoax”.

These are by no means the only instances of such behaviour by Holocaust deniers and nazis. In December 2009, Auschwitz was desecrated by three Polish criminals who stole the sign above the entrance to the camp bearing the perverse motto *Arbeit Mach Frei* (“Work sets you free”) at the behest of Swedish nazi Anders Höglström. It was later recovered, although it had been cut into three pieces.



Entrance to Auschwitz *Arbeit Mach Frei* (“Work sets you free”)

Nor is Russia immune from Holocaust denial despite the wholesale death and destruction wrought upon the country by the Nazi invasion during World War Two. A widespread hostility towards Jews combined with a lack of basic knowledge about the parameters of the Holocaust amongst the general public (a situation not dissimilar in many ways to that in Moldova, Romania, Ukraine and the Baltic states) has opened an opportunity for Holocaust deniers, particularly from the West, to peddle their wares in Russia. In the words of Ilya Altman from the Holocaust Centre in Moscow, "Holocaust denial in Russia is still not an independent ideological field". Indeed the majority of it is imported from the West, another parallel with the situation in Romania.

A prime example of this development is provided by Jürgen Graf, the Swiss Holocaust denier, who speaks excellent Russian and is married to a Ukrainian woman. His books have been published and republished on numerous occasions in Russia, enjoying a wide circulation. His writings are frequently republished, together with those of other Western deniers, in excerpts in the Russian extreme right-wing press in newspapers like *Zavtra* and *Kolokol*. Another forum is provided by *Duel*, edited by Yurii Muhin, which from 1996 until its closure by a Moscow court in 2008 was one of the main platforms for Holocaust denial in Russia. Muhin received a two-year prison sentence, suspended for two years at the same time for "publicly calling for extremist activity through the media".

Graf's book *Holocaust on the Test Stand* was translated into Russian appearing as *The Myth of the Holocaust* during the 1990s. Excerpts from the book were published first in the newspaper *Russkii vestnik* (the circulation of which was said to be in the region of 60,000). The newspaper also interviewed both Graf and Italian "revisionist" Carlo Mattogno who had travelled to Russia on a number of occasions to carry out research in Soviet archives. It was subsequently published as *Mif o kholokoste: Pravda o sud'be evreev vo vtoroi mirovoi voine* (2000). According to the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) it sold 200,000 copies, hailing its publication as "A Major Revisionist Breakthrough". Graf's friend Oleg Anatolyevich Platonov contributed a preface to *Mif o kholokoste* which relativised the enormity of the Holocaust and congratulated Graf on his efforts in "destroying the myth of the 'Holocaust' [which] has taken hold in the mind of the masses" with the intention of encouraging non-Jews "to feel a sense of guilt, repent and pay reparations". In 1997, Platonov, who runs an organisation called the Institute for the History of Russian Civilization (IHRC), participated at the conference organized by the IHR. Together with Graf, he also became a member of the editorial board of its publication, the *Journal for Historical Review*. Platonov was to have addressed the ill-fated IHR conference in Beirut in 2001 but the event never took place.

On 26-27 January 2002, Platonov was one of the leading lights behind the organisation of "The Global Problems of World History" conference staged in Moscow and held under the aegis of the Social Humanities academy. A motley assortment of the world's Holocaust deniers flocked to the Russian capital to take part in the proceedings. It was held in conjunction with the *Encyclopaedia of Russian Civilisation* publishing house run by Platonov and *The Barnes Review*, the brainchild of veteran American Holocaust denier Willis Carto. The star of the show was undoubtedly David Duke. Platonov was taken ill two days before the conference and was unable to attend. Graf took over his duties as chair of the proceedings which were marred somewhat when Russell Granata, a retired Californian schoolteacher associated with the IHR promptly collapsed having suffered a heart attack whilst still on the podium. Nevertheless, the conference was successful in helping to break down the previous isolation experienced by Russian Holocaust deniers and revisionists, connecting them with a wider international network, though the prevalence of many former communists would have made many of the fervently anti-communist American delegates uncomfortable. Platonov continued his activities. In 2005, he published a book entitled *The Jewish Question in Russia* which was sold in the Russian State Duma bookshop. Platonov claimed in this work that the Jews had always seen Russia as their principal opponent, that Jews murder Christian children and that they have a negative influence on Russian culture in general.

There are numerous websites and newspapers, particularly those on the extreme right, that deny the Holocaust, though perhaps one of the more surprising came in 2010 when a very respected Russian magazine *Nash sovremennik* (*Our contemporary*) published a huge article by its editor-in-chief, the poet Stanislav Kunyaev, entitled "Victims and Liars of the Holocaust". Kunyaev's support had also been instrumental in enabling Swedish antisemite Israel Shamir to join the prestigious Russian Writers' Union.

Russian deniers, however, tend more often than not to deflect the use of the term "Holocaust" for their own ends, arguing instead that it represents not the Nazi extermination of the Jews but the ritual-Talmudic extermination of Russian people. They also term the Bolshevik "terror" against White Russians a "holocaust" for which they also hold the Jews responsible. Another popular thesis, particularly in the pages of *Duel*, is that Hitler's real aim was not to exterminate Jews but to send them from Europe to Palestine. Fewer publications in Russia outside the extreme right seek to justify the Holocaust but many more blame the "Jews" for the supposed "Holocaust" against the Russian people, recasting the victim as the perpetrator.

There is also a wider trend which, whilst not representing outright denial, is nevertheless worthy of mention. Politicians like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and Natalia Narochinskaya have both opposed commemoration of the Holocaust: Zhirinovskiy has stated that “we have enough commemorations and we are a Russian parliament, why should we commemorate Jews?” Narochinskaya meanwhile argues that “too much attention is paid to the topic of [the] Holocaust”.

Such attempts to revise historical memory came to the fore as a result of the publication of a history textbook for students of Moscow State University called *History of Russia – 1917-2009*. Written by academics, Alexander Barsenkov and Alexander Vdovin, the book presented an apologia for Stalin and the crimes of his regime, including forced collectivisation, deportations and mass executions. This re-interpretation of Russian history in the light of ultra-nationalism also claimed that the Soviet Union blocked the appointment of Jews to top roles in its structures after World War Two because of, “the growing pro-Western sympathies of citizens of Jewish origin, which increased the possibility of their being used in the interests of American strategy”. Branded antisemitic by critics, the book referred to the “Holocaust” only once and then in the context of those Soviet Jewish-prisoners of war who died in Nazi captivity.

Similar arguments, whitewashing Stalin’s crimes, were made in Evgeny Lukin’s book *There is no Blood on the Torturers* (1996), which as part of its discussion of how the Stalinist terror came to engulf even its perpetrators in the NKVD, the Soviet security service, argued that this resulted from Jews infiltrating the organisation. Lukin, from St. Petersburg, was a spokesman for the Federal Security Service (FSB), a successor to the mantle of the NKVD. Similar arguments circulate in Western Europe, exemplified by Hermann Grief’s book *Jewish-Run Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union* (1937). In essence the book argued that “Jews ran forced slave labour camps in the Soviet Union long before the Nazis ever got the idea” though, as a sales blurb accompanying a recent reprint of the book by Tony Hancock’s Sussex-based Historical Review Press (HRP) claims, “because of the Jewish domination of the mass media and the propaganda they have spewed out since 1945, hardly anyone has even heard of the Jewish Communist concentration camps”.

Other attempts by Western Holocaust deniers to try and influence the debate on Russia’s past can be seen in *The Holocaust Made in Russia* (1988), written by IHR luminary Carlos Porter, which blamed the Soviet Union for assisting in the perpetuation of the Holocaust “hoax”.

Despite such efforts, the impact of Holocaust denial in Russia is severely curtailed by its ideological origins that seek the rehabilitation of the Nazi regime. Memory of the “Great Patriotic War” against Nazism still

looms large in Russia, which lost tens of millions of its citizens to Hitler's onslaught against the Soviet Union. As academic Stella Rock points out, Soviet historiography made little mention of the Holocaust and thus, from this low base, there was little to revise or deny to begin with. Those who do subscribe to open Holocaust denial, neo-nazi and violent anti-immigrant groups, remain on the outer fringes of the national-patriotic movement that has poisonously mushroomed in post-Soviet Russia. However, "revisionism" is not simply the tool of the extreme right in Russia. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation could be found a decade ago propagandising that Hitler was in league with "Zionists" or, in a more fanciful extension of the same theme, that he was a Jewish puppet. Pamyat, one of the most extreme Russian right-wing groups has gone so far to argue that Hitler himself was a "Jew" – such is the depths of the supposed "Zionist" conspiracy against Russia.

Such arguments have little wider public currency, however, beyond the confines of the conspiratorial antisemitic circles in which they are espoused. Generally speaking the mainstream Russian nationalist movement has no interest in what is viewed as a peripheral phenomenon.

Lithuania provides another example of how memory, history and politics have fused to distort the history of the Holocaust. The genocide of the Jews in the Baltic States was particularly brutal. Following the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1940, Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union, which soon deported thousands of Lithuanians to Siberia. In June 1941, however, the Red Army was forced to retreat following the Nazi invasion of Russia. Following in the wake of the German army units who rolled into the Baltic was *Einsatzgruppe A*, one of four Nazi-led mobile killing units, which from its starting point in East Prussia moved into Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia toward Leningrad. The unit was responsible for the large-scale massacre of Jews and other political opponents in Kovno, Vilnia and Riga. Local collaborators formed themselves into auxiliary units to assist the *Einsatzgruppe* in their murderous task. Within six months, they had killed over half of all Jews in Kovno. In all, 200,000 Jews were murdered in Lithuania alone. It was the highest proportion in Europe. "95% of its Jews didn't end up in concentration camps, but instead were herded – often by their neighbours - into specially-dug pits, and shot," noted a BBC documentary exploring the history of these events.

In 1944, the country was re-occupied by Soviet troops heralding a further wave of repression. Lithuania gained its independence with the rest of the Baltic States only in 1991. This has had a huge impact on history and memory not just in Lithuania and the Baltic but across Eastern Europe. In the case of Lithuania, as a BBC documentary recently highlighted, the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius barely mentions either the

Holocaust or its Jewish victims preferring to concentrate instead on the Soviet “genocide” of the Lithuanian people. Its silence is all the more ominous because the museum itself was once the headquarters of the Gestapo and SD headquarters as well as serving as a prison and barracks. Much more is made of the fact locally, however, that the KGB, the Soviet secret police, subsequently occupied the building.

It is not the only museum in Eastern Europe to perpetuate this distortion of history. The *Terrorhaza* (House of Terror) in the Hungarian capital of Budapest is a case in point. This museum draws scant distinction between the murderous Arrow Cross gangsters, Hungary’s indigenous fascist party, and the communists, both of whom used the building. The museum devotes a mere three rooms to the Arrow Cross despite its enthusiastic collaboration with the Nazis in the extermination of 600,000 Jews. The remainder of the large building is devoted to depicting the crimes of communism. This focus on the crimes of communism, in Lithuania, Hungary and indeed across Eastern Europe, rather than those of fascism does not represent Holocaust denial in its “hard” form. However, the relativisation and minimisation of the Holocaust that results from this lop-sided, politically driven commemoration of genocide distorts history in a manner, which is equally invidious.

As has already been noted, the idea of a “double genocide” is common not just in the Baltic States but across Eastern Europe. It was originally perpetuated by antisemites and other assorted collaborators who sought to hide the truth of their own actions by highlighting instead the perfidy of the Soviet regime. It has long since escaped its origins to become commonplace across Eastern Europe. There is no reason not to commemorate the victims of those murdered in the name of communism but to do so at the expense of those the Nazis murdered is perverse as is the attempt to obscure the singularity of the Holocaust which differentiates it from the crimes perpetrated during the Soviet occupation. The Nazis waged a war of ethnic extermination against the Jews. The Soviet Union did not.

The way that such a narrative distorts history can be seen graphically in Lithuania following its declaration of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The newly independent nation only staged its first war crimes trial seven years later in 1998. Thereafter, however, just two more Lithuanian collaborators were to be prosecuted. All three of the perpetrators were spared prison due to their age. This compares poorly with the prosecution of twenty-four individuals accused of crimes against humanity or genocide committed under the Soviet regime. Underpinning this distortion of history was the announcement in 2008 that a judicial enquiry was underway to investigate the activities of Jewish anti-Nazi partisans during the Second World War which caused international outrage not least because it was

seen for what it was, an attempt to persecute the victim rather than the perpetrator.

Within this struggle over national memory and history there also exists a strain of outright Holocaust denial. This was seen most recent in November 2010 when, in a column for *Veidas*, a popular weekly magazine sold on newsstands throughout the country, Dr Petras Stankeras a historian and Senior Specialist at the Action Planning and Organisation Department of the General Department of the Interior Ministry stated that the Holocaust was a “legend” and that the Nuremberg trial was “the biggest legal farce in history”. During the course of the article he also remarked that:

“It is also important that during the Nurnberg Trial the legend about six million supposedly murdered Jews acquired a legal basis, even though the court did not have a single document signed by A. Hitler concerning the extermination of Jews (this document, if it ever existed, has not been found to this day, although a million dollar reward has been promised).”

Following an international outcry, which also protested the lack of official condemnation from the Lithuanian government, Stankeras stepped down from his post.

CHAPTER 7

The Iran axis

EACH YEAR Iran stages an anti-Israel demonstration on the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadan. In October 2005, however, the event entitled “The World without Zionism” was notable for raising the political stakes to a new, hitherto unseen level. Standing before 4,000 students, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad announced that “this regime occupying Jerusalem must vanish from the page of time” or, in other translations, that it must be “eliminated from the pages of history.” More commonly, however, it was reported that he had stated that Israel should be “wiped off the map”. The nuances of the translation aside, Ahmadinejad’s message seemed clear: the Islamic Republic of Iran remained, as it had been since the 1979 revolution, profoundly hostile to the state of Israel.

Until his election as president earlier that year, Ahmadinejad had been a relatively obscure figure in Iranian politics. A former lecturer in traffic and transport studies at Tehran’s University of Science and Technology, Ahmadinejad only emerged as a major player in 2003 when he was elected mayor of Tehran. His tenure, according to a BBC profile, coincided with the rolling back of moderate reforms and a reduction in social freedoms. Since



President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

becoming president, Ahmadinejad has become notorious for an array of antisemitic provocations many of which tilt towards denying the Holocaust.

Such pronouncements were not simply the result of blind prejudice, rather, as one American academic notes, “it is a deliberate, strategic decision” taken to bolster his position on a wider diplomatic plane than the obvious insult and injury to Israel would infer. As George Michael noted in *Middle East Quarterly*:

Although other Middle East figures have dismissed the Nazi Holocaust, Ahmadinejad has changed the discourse with his stridency. His gambit may serve him well amid the increasing polarisation between Islamic countries and the United States. His confrontation has elevated him to a central player on the international scene. By championing Holocaust revisionism, Ahmadinejad has demonstrated his bona fides to the Islamic world and tapped into the reservoir of resentment against Israel that transcends sectarian differences. By radicalizing the Middle East, Ahmadinejad seeks to prevent a rapprochement between Israel and conservative Arab states that have a security interest in containing an ascendant Iran. In doing so, Ahmadinejad could conceivably draw support from Sunni radicals that have been traditionally hostile to the Shi’a.

In this sense, though they probably do not realise it themselves, Western Holocaust deniers fulfil the role of “useful idiots” for the Iranian regime, helping it to achieve its wider regional and geo-political goals. Despite being home to a 25,000 strong Jewish population, the largest in the Middle East outside Israel itself, Holocaust denial is by no means new to Iran. Antisemitism has long been a part of official Iranian discourse. As Michael notes, however, it was not until the presidency of Mohammad Khatami (1997-2005) that Iranian policy, “shifted from anti-Zionism to unabashed anti-Semitism”. Khatami did, however, recognise that the Holocaust was a “historical fact”, though with the caveat that Israel has “made a bad use of this historic fact with the persecution of the Palestinian people”.

Such views led to sympathy for Western Holocaust deniers to whom Iran offered sanctuary when faced with prosecution in their own countries. In December 1999, Australian Holocaust denier Gerald Frederick Töben visited Iran following his seven-month incarceration in Germany’s Mannheim prison for Holocaust denial. He had returned to the country in April 2001, following the cancellation of the Beirut Holocaust denial conference (see chapter four), welcomed at the Tehran’s Mehrabad airport by Dr Reza

Khaji, of the Faculty of Administration and Economic Science at Ferdowsi University. Töben's autobiography is full of praise for Iran, recalling his interviews with newspapers and addresses to student groups at Mashhad's three universities during which he lost no opportunity to spread Holocaust denial. He recalled:

Students who want to know more about the lies that surround the Holocaust topic inundate me, and they are interested in studying the subject matter in a formal way. It is now up to the Iranians to develop something along these lines - revisionists have the material available for such a course of study.

The following week Töben travelled to Tehran as a delegate to an International Conference on the Palestinian Intifada held on 24-25 April musing that: "It is clear that propagating the Holocaust lie is designed to support the legitimacy of the State of Israel at the expense of the Palestinians' right of return, and their right to statehood". There he was introduced to a number of "interesting individuals representing key organisations" involved in the conflict including Ayatollah Sayyed Ali Khamenei, the Iranian leader. Both men appeared to have taken a leaf out of the same book. According to Töben, Khamenei stated at the opening ceremony:

There are documents showing close collaboration of the Zionists with Nazi Germany, and exaggerated numbers relating to the Jewish holocaust were fabricated to solicit sympathy of the world public opinion, lay the ground for the occupation of Palestine and to justify the atrocities of the Zionists.

Töben was delighted. "Revisionists cannot ask for more because the Islamic Republic of Iran's Leader is the only one in the world who has so strongly spelled out our concerns," he gushed. Flitting from East to West, following his visit to Iran Töben travelled to Washington DC in July 2001 to address The Barnes Review (TBR) International Conference, the second confab of its kind organised by veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto, where he also launched his latest book *Where Truth is No Defence, I Want to Break Free* (2001).

In May 2000 Wolfgang Fröhlich, an Austrian engineer who had testified at the 1998 trial of Jürgen Graf, claiming that it was impossible that Zyklon-B gas could have been used to murder the Jews, also sought sanctuary from

prosecution, though this time in the Iranian embassy in Vienna. He later travelled on to Iran itself. Rather than face the fifteen-month sentence imposed on him Graf followed suit, absconding to Iran shortly after his conviction for inciting racial hatred. In seeking to tease out supposed parallels, the IHR argued that “the Swiss court had conducted itself much like an Israeli military tribunal judging Palestinians”. The IHR also added in a separate article that: “The warm welcome being given to Jurgen Graf in Iran is not only a dramatic expression of support for intellectual freedom and human rights, it further refutes the often-made claim that Holocaust revisionism has no significant public or scholarly support.”

The scope of Graf’s activities in Iran remains unclear. It is known that he learned Farsi and lectured at Iranian universities. Radio Islam, run by Moroccan-born Swedish antisemite Ahmed Rami, also asserted that Graf had authored, “an 80-page overview of the history and impact of Holocaust revisionism that is being translated into Persian and Arabic for distribution to scholars, journalists and religious and political leaders”. For Graf there are “good reasons” for Western “revisionists” and militant Islamists to cooperate “as they are facing the same adversary”. Whilst claiming that cooperation would “serve their mutual interests,” Graf is acutely aware that cooperation serves principally the interests of financially impecunious Western Holocaust deniers. “The Achilles’ heel of revisionism is its financial weakness,” he acknowledged in an interview in 2003:

With a few million dollars, which we unfortunately do not have, we could massively spread our message by means of booklets, leaflets, radio broadcasts, etc. On the other hand, we can give the Arabs and Muslims a terrible weapon in their struggle against Israel and Zionism. The weapon is historical truth. It is regrettable that those Arab states which sincerely oppose Zionism have spent huge amounts of money on weapons, while 1 percent of these sums would have been sufficient to spread revisionism and thus inflict irreparable damage on the Zionist state. I trust that it is not too late to correct this error.

Graf’s fantasies certainly do not tally with the political and military reality in Iran which is clearly prioritising uranium enrichment programmes as a more sure-fire guarantee of bolstering its regional security rather than the nebulous promise of Holocaust denial. However, Graf and others like him can no doubt take solace from the fact that, under President Ahmadinejad, Iran has elevated Holocaust denial into an official instrument of state policy.



'Holocaust International Cartoon' exhibition, organised by the Iranian Government

In February 2006, the Iranian newspaper *Hamshahri*, in conjunction with the Iran Cartoon House, announced the opening of a "Holocaust International Cartoon Competition" in response to what it regarded as "Western hypocrisy and free speech," following the publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad, frequently in a derogatory manner, in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, sparking widespread violence and numerous murders. Many of the cartoons published by *Hamshahri* were of an openly antisemitic nature. The competition also yielded an exhibition, the first state-sponsored antisemitic art show since 1945, which showcased 200 of the 1,000 or so entries from sixty-two countries including Britain. The impact of the competition has not been limited to Iran. In a further blurring of the boundaries between anti-Zionism and antisemitism the Scottish Palestinian Solidarity Campaign (SPSC), which, in its pursuit of self-determination for Palestine, campaigns for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel, saw fit to use one of these images in its own campaign in 2010. The cartoon controversy proved to be only the opening shot in a far wider, deliberately provocative, campaign of Holocaust denial orchestrated by the Iranian state.

The SPSC has "form" in this regard. In 2007, during Holocaust Memorial Week, it organised a series of readings of Jim Allen's play *Perdition* which dramatised the case of Rudolf Kastner and the annihilation of Hungarian

Jewry with the claim that Zionists had collaborated with the Nazis to implement the destruction of their co-religionists. The root of such allegations lay in the strictures of Soviet anti-Zionism. The SPSC also staged a meeting for Lenni Brenner, author of *Zionism in the Age of Dictators*, which had served as a starting point for *Perdition*, as did the Brighton and Hove branch of the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign (PSC). Mick Napier, chairman of the SPSC, has claimed that Holocaust memorialisation has been used to “justify” the “mass murder and expropriation of the Palestinians” and has argued that “an accurate understanding of the Nazi Holocaust is essential to grasp modern Israeli savagery towards the Palestinian people. The political link between Palestine and the Nazi mass murder of Jews in 1942-5 is not the prerogative of the SPSC”.

This idea that the Holocaust commemoration needs to be destabilised and damaged in order to fight “Zionism” and nullify the right to existence of the state of Israel is one that resonates well beyond the confines of the SPSC. Whilst the SPSC does not deny the Holocaust its attempt to break the link between the Holocaust, Israel and the Jews and to portray Palestinians as the real victims of the Nazis is co-terminus with the anti-Semitic “anti-Zionist” strategy pursued both by the Iranian government and indeed the far right.

Continuing in his campaign, in July 2006 President Ahmadinejad wrote to Angela Merkel, the German chancellor claiming that the Holocaust had been “made up” by the Allies to “constantly embarrass” Germany. Reports of this letter emerged as Iran announced, to international condemnation, that it would stage an international conference to debate the reality or otherwise of the Holocaust. Entitled “Review of the Holocaust: Global Vision” the conference was duly held on 11-12 December 2006 and was attended by sixty-seven “experts” from thirty countries including Britain. The Iranian Foreign Ministry tried hard to portray the event as a scholarly meeting of “intellectuals and researchers”. It “will not be a forum for antisemites” it maintained. But that is exactly what it was. Indeed, the gathering represented the veritable “Who’s who” of the international Holocaust denial community.¹

Whilst Iran refused to allow entry to Mahameed it welcomed to the event six members of Neturei Karta, who came from Austria, Britain and the United States. Neturei Karta is an ultra-orthodox Jewish religious sect which rejects both Zionism and the state of Israel on religious grounds. Their position was summarised by Rabbi Aron Cohen from Britain who told the BBC, “We certainly say there was a Holocaust; we lived through the Holocaust. But in no way can it be used as a justification for perpetrating unjust acts against the Palestinians.”

The conference was opened by Manouchehr Mottaki, the then Iranian

Foreign Minister, who stated that the aim of the gathering was “not to deny or confirm the Holocaust” but that “Its main aim is to create an opportunity for thinkers who cannot express their views freely in Europe about the Holocaust”. He dismissed criticism as “predictable” and asserted that there was “no logical reason” to oppose it. David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and American Nazi Party boss, gave a keynote speech. The conference was even graced by the presence of the Iranian president himself who was mobbed by grateful anti-Semites including Lady Michèle Renouf who handed Ahmadinejad two DVDs: *Jailing Opinions* and *Setting the Record Straight – The Saga of Political Activist, Ernst Zündel*. In an address broadcast to the Iranian nation, Ahmadinejad questioned why the West would not allow “any investigation” into the Holocaust.

The conference also resulted in the establishment of an International “Holocaust” Research Committee (IHRC) Interim Committee to perpetuate its work. Its principal “tasks” included the establishment of an international justice commission to determine the penalties to be imposed upon those found guilty of having perpetrated the “Holocaust”. In case the “Holocaust” is found to be a lie it would determine the reparations to be paid to those who have been unjustly sentenced and to determine the form of punishment for those who are found to be liars. That the word Holocaust appeared in inverted commas betrayed the fact that the committee had already delivered its verdict before being convened. This was to be expected. The general secretary, Dr Mohammad-Ali Ramin, a “presidential advisor” to Ahmadinejad who had studied in Germany for several years where he had founded the *Islamische Gemeinschaft in Clausthal eV*, was on record as



Lady Renouf with President Ahmadinejad of Iran



Tehran conference David Duke (left), Jan Bernhoff (second right), Frederick Töben (right)

stating that Jews “are filthy” and demanding the “relocation of Israel”. The IHRC itself was to be run by five members: Lady Michèle Renouf (Britain), Gerald Frederick Töben (Australia), Christian Lindtner (Denmark), Serge Thion (France) and Bernhard Schaub (Switzerland). The group made the bold and highly unlikely claim that it would open an office for “holocaust studies” in Tehran which would then be re-located to Berlin. It never happened, nor was it likely to.

Little has been heard of the IHRC since its inception though Ramin was later promoted to deputy culture minister for press affairs within the Iranian Republic. The promise of another “Holocaust” conference which the IHRC had tasked itself with organising has yet to materialise. Its committee members have remained active, however. Perhaps none more so than Renouf. Since the conference, she has enjoyed a certain celebrity cachet, appearing on a range of Iranian-owned satellite television channels, including Sahar 1 and Press TV, the latter founded in July 2007 “to break the global media stranglehold of Western outlets” and to compete with other satellite channels such as the BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera. It is funded by the Iranian regime to the tune of 27 million dollars.

Thanks to Renouf, Iranian media outlets like Press TV have served as a platform for other British Holocaust deniers like Nick Kollerstrom, a former Green Party member and peace activist latterly given to conspiratorial thinking, who penned an article entitled: “The Auschwitz ‘Gas Chamber’ Illusion”. Kollerstrom claimed that although there were gas chambers at Auschwitz these “were operated for purposes of hygiene and disinfection, in order to save lives and not take them”. Kollerstrom had held an honorary

research fellowship at University College London (UCL), Department of Science and Technology Studies, which was terminated with “immediate effect” when the nature of his extramural activities became known.

Shortly after losing his UCL fellowship, Kollerstrom approached Renouf for “advice” as to whether he would be able to “travel safely” to Germany to present such ideas to a *bona fide* academic conference in Berlin on the Holocaust, never mind that he had not been invited. Renouf advised Kollerstrom against travelling to Germany, figuring, probably correctly, that he would be arrested if he tried to do so. Instead, Renouf recommended to Press TV that they interview Kollerstrom about his “scientific article”. That she was able to persuade them to do so showed her influence with certain sections of the Iranian media, having boasted on her website of her “elected role” to take Iran’s anti-Semitic road show to Europe following the Tehran conference. Press TV subsequently broadcast an interview with Kollerstrom, who was described as a “distinguished academic”. Four days later, Press TV uploaded another Kollerstrom article to its website entitled “The Walls of Auschwitz: A Review of the Chemical Studies”. Originally published on the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) website, a well known font of Holocaust denial material operated by Bradley R. Smith, Kollerstrom’s article claimed the gassing of the Jews was “scientifically impossible”. “The Walls of Auschwitz” essay remains on the Press TV website to this day. So too does another article quoting from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the notorious Tsarist forgery which purported to be a secret blueprint of Jewish plans for world domination.

In the aftermath of the Iranian Holocaust denial conference, the Mehr News Agency (MNA), launched “as a private and non-official media” outlet in Farsi and English, publishing a raft of statements from “historians and researchers” supportive of Ahmadinejad’s subsequent statement on 14 December that the Holocaust was a “myth”. Its website also featured a number of interviews with figures such as Arthur Butz, an associate professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University and author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976). It explained that the Holocaust was a “hoax” of “Zionist provenance and motivation” and commended Ahmadinejad. The website also gave a platform to Michael A. Hoffman II who stated “the ‘Holocaust’ is a religious cult masquerading as history. It is a means of Judaizing the West”. Also on the website is an article by IHR director Mark Weber who had previously been given a voice on the country’s state-run Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) radio network. IRIB had also previously featured interviews with other prominent deniers like the German nazi Ernst Zündel and Ahmed Rami. Iranian newspapers like the *Tehran Times* also trailed excerpts of these interviews.

MNA also featured an interview the following year with anti-Zionist

Austrian Rabbi Moishe Arye Friedman who had attended the Iranian Holocaust denial conference with members of Neturei Karta. MNA reported Friedman as arguing that “Zionists” used “the Holocaust concept as a tool and weapon to silence people” and lamented that “we are living in a world that is shut by the horrific Zionist media domination”. Following the conference, Friedman and his family stayed in Iran for two months. There, after the Friday Prayers of Quds Day, he was welcomed by Ahmadinejad who stated, according to MNA, that “he would join them in prayers and celebrations in Beit-ul-Moqaddas (Jerusalem) when it is liberated from Zionism and the Zionist regime”. Ostracised by Vienna’s Jewish community, Friedman later travelled to New York. His British colleague Rabbi Ahron Cohen also required police protection when he returned to his home in Manchester after the conference such was the anger their embrace of Ahmadinejad had caused.

Involvement with Iranian media outlets has not been entirely risk free. In 2006, French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson, already facing charges on account of his speech at the Tehran conference, was found guilty in 2006 of “complicity in contesting the existence of a crime against humanity” as a result of an interview he had given to Sahar 1, an Iranian satellite television channel. During the course of the interview, broadcast in February 2005, Faurisson had asserted that, “there was never a single execution gas chamber under the Germans... So all those millions of tourists who visit Auschwitz are seeing a lie, a falsification.” Renouf persuaded Sahar 1’s Parisian Bureau to cover the subsequent trial which ended with Faurisson being fined €7,500 (£6,580) and handed a three month suspended prison sentence. Renouf was also there in person at Paris’s Palais de Justice the following year to support Faurisson’s legal action against the former French Justice Minister Robert Badinter. She was accompanied by the French fascist Guillaume Fabien and Dr Yaqub Zaki (real name James Dickie), a Scottish Muslim convert and associate director of the pro-Iranian Muslim Institute. In April 1988, Zaki had addressed a rally in Wembley, north-west London, staged by the radical Islamist group al-Muhajiroun, declaring: “nobody was gassed to death in the concentration camps... David Irving has the right idea, destroy the Holocaust myth and you have destroyed Israel.”

Presumably for just such reasons Irving has long been popular in Iran. Following the loss of his libel case against Deborah Lipstadt in 2000 the *Tehran Times* declaimed that:

One of the biggest frauds of the outgoing century which has dragged into the new millennium is the story of the Holocaust made up by the Zionists to blackmail the West. Western countries, under the pressure of Zionist circles, are still paying

huge amounts of money in reparations to the Zionist entity and the relatives of those claimed to have perished in the Nazi gas chambers. But the same countries condemn, imprison and stigmatise as 'racist' and 'antisemitic' whoever tries to dig facts and expose the fraud of the Zionists. Such treatment of the researchers and historians by the Western countries is a token of their subservience to the Zionist circles, particularly their submission to the pro-Zionist US Administration.

Fast forward a decade and Irving remains happy to link the Holocaust and Zionism for the Iranians. In August 2010, he appeared on the Islamic Republic of Iran News Network (IRINN), arguing that “Zionists” had “over used the Holocaust and this, in turn, has tarnished the Zionist cause. I think that in ten years time Zionism will come to an end, because of the mistakes they’ve made”. The United States he asserted, would soon “pull the plug” on Israel.

Renouf maintains a website called “Jailing Opinions” which serves as a window into the legal travails of the world’s leading Holocaust deniers on whose behalf she regularly campaigns. The man who runs the website, Peter Rushton, is a man with an interesting history. He was a leading member of the far right British National Party in Manchester until he was purged from the organisation in 2002. Thereafter, Rushton threw in his lot with Mark Cotterill, the former leader of the American Friends of the British National Party (AFBNP), the party’s American fundraising arm who, having returned to Britain fell out with Griffin and left the BNP. Rushton and Cotterill both went on to become leading figures in the White Nationalist Party (WNP) and then the England First Party (EFP), both far right racist



Peter Rushton



Mark Cotterill

organisations. Rushton became the deputy editor of the EFP publication *Heritage and Destiny* writing most of its copy. He was also active during this period with the British Peoples Party (BPP), a small nazi group, regularly addressing their meetings. He and Renouf featured prominently in a BPP demonstration in support of jailed Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel outside the German Embassy in 2007. The BPP was once one of the larger neo-nazi factions in Britain, its leadership responsible for the administration of Redwatch, the on-line “hit list” designed to intimidate political opponents by printing their photographs and personal details on the Internet. The group, which sells busts of Adolf Hitler, has recently been inhibited by the arrest of several of its leading members on terrorism offences as a result of which the party has become to all intents and purposes, moribund.

By this time, however, Renouf and Rushton had moved onto bigger and better things in Europe, sidling up to Ernst Zündel and his lawyer Herbert Schaller following the release of the former from prison in 2010. On this occasion Richard Edmonds, a long-time nazi and founding member of the BNP who has recently defected to the National Front (NF), joined them. Like Renouf, Rushton has been active in spreading an anti-Semitic version of “anti-Zionism” to the Middle East. He regularly appears on Press TV and, in December 2007, appeared on the “Insight” programme broadcast by the Iranian IRIB network as a guest of its host Dr M. Saeed Bahmanpour, who is affiliated with the Islamic College for Advanced Studies based in Willesden, north-west London, which itself is aligned with Middlesex University. Dr Bahmanpour introduced the nazi Rushton only as a “political commentator and webmaster”. Renouf was also present, using the opportunity to claim that feminism was “Jewish” and going on to hang her racist conspiracy theories about “world Zionism” upon *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the notorious antisemitic forgery. Renouf was unconcerned at the falsity of the document claiming that it nevertheless indicated “certain aspects of cultural direction that we ought to look at, be they forgeries or otherwise”. No one contradicted her.

Rushton has also featured in a variety of Arabic media organs including *The Times of Iran* and the *Iran Daily*. He is, however, habitually introduced to Middle Eastern audiences as a “historian and political commentator” rather than as a far right activist with past membership of groups with programmes that are as racist as they are antisemitic. This was also the case when Rushton appeared on the “Rattansi and Ridley” show, an internet-based talk show hosted by journalists Afshin Rattansi and Yvonne Ridley, the latter famous for converting to Islam after being taken hostage by the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001. She had crossed into the country illegally whilst working as a journalist for the *Daily Express*. Ridley subsequently embarked upon a political career, standing for the left-wing Respect Party

though she failed to gain election.

Rushton was paraded on the show as a commentator on Tony Blair's performance before the Chilcott enquiry into the war in Iraq, pontificating on the "Zionist" complexion of the enquiry. At no point were viewers made privy to Rushton's extremist political antecedents.

Renouf has been at the forefront of trying to inject such antisemitic prejudices into Middle Eastern politics and indeed into anti-Zionist politics. There is little overt evidence that they have succeeded in altering the parameters of the debate. Indeed the reverse appears to be the case: antisemites and Holocaust deniers themselves have refashioned the nature of their own arguments as a result of either contact with or knowledge of anti-Zionist politics which offers them the chance of a far greater audience than their dreams of a resurrected Third Reich ever have.

The foundation itself was the brainchild of Mahathir Mohamad, the former Malaysian Prime Minister from 1981 to 2003 (noted by the BBC for his "scant regard for human rights") whose writings and pronouncements have long been exhibited a marked hostility to Jews. In *The Malay Dilemma* (1970) he claimed that "Jewish stinginess and financial wizardry gained them commercial control of Europe and provoked antisemitism which waxed and waned in Europe throughout the ages." It also claimed that Jews themselves "are not merely hook-nosed, but understand money instinctively." During the next thirty years his opinions changed little. In a 2003 speech given to an international summit of Islamic leaders, Mahathir stated that "Today, the Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them. They invented socialism, communism, human rights and democracy to avoid persecution and gain... control of the most powerful countries." In June 2003 he described "Anglo-Saxon Europeans" as proponents of "war, sodomy and genocide" and, in the days before his resignation, repeated his assertion that a Jewish cabal "ruled the world".

In February 2010, Renouf appeared at a meeting of Lord Nazir Ahmed's Society Outreach group about Libya's human rights record. There she argued that Israel should be dismantled and its residents relocated to Russia or more precisely to Birobidzhan [Birobidzhan, centre of the Jewish autonomous district established by Stalin in eastern Russia in 1934], which has become a central theme in her campaigning in recent years; the physical separation and segregation of Jews from Western society. Such activities have no doubt helped endear her further to the Iranian state. On 3 June 2010, Renouf returned again to Iran where she addressed President Ahmadinejad and other selected delegates at the Fourth International Conference on Iman Khomeini and foreign policy which had been organised by the Institute for Political and International Studies. The conference was held in the presidential quarters in Tehran. Ahmadinejad himself sat in the

front row as Renouf told his audience that Khomeini was a “role model” for the West as indeed was Ahmadinejad, for confronting Western “swindle-speak” with regards to the Holocaust. “My hope,” declared Renouf, “is that our President Ahmadinejad, who speaks the whole truth bravely, will promote awareness of the first autonomous Jewish homeland [Birobidzhan] and that there is no need for European Jews to go back to Germany, Poland or Austria when they have their own state whose first language is Yiddish”.

Keeping a foot in both camps, Renouf has also been appointed as a contributing editorial board member to *The Barnes Review*, a revisionist publication founded by Willis Carto who named it after historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Her exploits also frequently feature in its sister paper, *The American Free Press* which is currently edited by veteran conspiracy theorist James P. Tucker. *The Barnes Review* September/October 2010 issue featured a front page photo of her standing with Ahmadinejad at the aforementioned event in Tehran. It also featured an article from her, provocatively entitled “Lady Renouf’s ‘Final Solution’” (a mocking reference to the Nazi genocide) in which “she urges the Jews of Israel to move out of the Palestinian homeland and to the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan, southeast Russia – a place where Yiddish is the official language and ethnically and culturally the vast majority of today’s Israeli folk more naturally belong”.

As well as seeking to introduce Westernised Holocaust denial arguments into Iran, Renouf has also acted as a conduit for antisemitic propaganda from Iran. One example of this emerged in February 2011 when the Iranian state threatened to boycott the 2012 London Olympics, encouraging other nations, particularly Islamic ones, to follow suit on the grounds that the Olympic logo was “racist” because it resembled the word “Zion”. Mohammad Aliabadi, head of Iran’s National Olympic Committee, penned a complaint to Jacques Rogge, president of the International Olympic Committee, that “the use of the word Zion by the designer of Olympics logo in the emblem of the Olympics Games 2012 is a very revolting act”. Despite Iran subsequently retracting its threat, stating that the country would “participate gloriously”, Renouf continued this campaign of antisemitic vilification. On 3 March, she was interviewed by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting network, which gave her free reign to attack the “London subliminal Zion race supremacy logo”. Renouf’s case rested on the fact that two of the “2s” in the logo appear at slightly different angles. The 2012 logo, she declared, was designed by “a Zionist and a Jew” before alleging ludicrously that the designer of the Olympics five rings though not Jewish was, “very much a Freemason, and very much associated with the tremendous influence that Jewry had at the end of the nineteenth century and all of this stems from that”.



Grand Ayatollah Naser Makarem Shirazi

As well as regurgitating Iranian propaganda, Western antisemites have also colluded in its production. A case in point is Dieudonné M'bala M'bala, an antisemitic “anti-Zionist” activist from France. In November 2009 Dieudonné, whose play “Muhammad” had praised the Iranian president, travelled to Tehran where he entered into negotiations with the Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and the Experimental and Documentary Film Centre (EDFC) to film one of his plays called

“The Antisemite”. It was to be a joint venture between Iran’s Haft Aseman Cinematic Company and his own *Le productions de la Plume* company.

The Iranian producer of the project, Mohsen Ali-Akbari, stated that he had agreed to produce the film “due to my anti-Zionist beliefs”. He also purchased the copyright to another of Dieudonné film script entitled “Black Coda” which, according to MNA, “highlights the Zionists’ contributions to slavery in Europe”. Funds for the venture appear to have been provided by Iran. Dieudonné later boasted of obtaining a “sizable grant” from the Iranian government to finance his “cultural struggle against Zionism” at a press conference in a Parisian theatre. In the entrance to the building was a giant poster of Dieudonné posing with the Iranian president, which, as one report recorded, “left no room for doubt regarding their relationship”. However, he has refused to disclose the exact amount of money obtained from the Iranians. Dieudonné subsequently hailed Iran as “a place where anti-Zionists [sic] can meet and communicate and develop”.

Whilst some Iranian moderates fear Ahmadinejad’s confrontational rhetoric is isolating their country from the wider international community, it is clear that his stance has the tacit approval of the country’s religious authorities, the real power behind the throne in Iran. In September 2010, Grand Ayatollah Naser Makarem Shirazi, one of the highest Shi’ite religious leaders was quoted by the state news agency IRNA as saying “The Holocaust is nothing but superstition, but Zionists say that people of the world should be forced to accept this... Americans and Westerners are affected by newly appeared superstitions such as the Holocaust... The truth about the Holocaust is not clear, and when the researchers want to examine whether it is true or the Jews have created it to pose as victims, they jail the researchers”. According to his website, Shirazi was appointed to the first

Council of Representatives and helped write Iran's constitution following the 1979 revolution. His comments were made shortly after Ahmadinejad stated that attempts to revive the Middle Eastern peace process were not only "doomed" to fail but that the peoples of the region were "capable of removing the Zionist regime" from the world, presumably obviating the need for a peaceful accord.

Ahmadinejad's own open hostility to Israel remains undiminished. Addressing the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on 23 September 2010, he outlined several conspiracy theories regarding responsibility for the 9/11 terrorist attacks including, "that some segments within the US government orchestrated the attack to reverse the declining American economy, and its grips on the Middle East, in order to save the Zionist regime. The majority of the American people as well as other nations and politicians agree with this view". The suggestion caused uproar and led to delegates from at least thirty countries walking out. Having also used the opportunity to assert that Israel was founded on racist principles, he was given a hero's welcome upon his return home.

¹ The participants from outside the Middle East included: Lady Michèle Renouf and Alexander Baron (Britain), Jan Berghoff and Ahmed Rami (Sweden), Bernhard Schaub and Jürgen Graf (Switzerland), Christian Linder (Denmark), Leonardo Clerici (Belgium), Georges Theil, Serge Thion, Robert Faurisson and Jean Faurisson (France), Dr Herbert Schaller, Bendikt Frings, Carsten Bormann, Herbert Hoff and Peter Töpfer (Germany), Wolfgang Fröhlich and Hans Gamlich (Austria), Flávio Consalves (Portugal), Alessa Lai and Antonella Vicini (Italy), George Kadar (Hungary), Bradley R. Smith (Mexico), Gerald Frederick Töben, Richard Krege and Mohammed Hegazi (Australia), Patrick McNalley (Japan), Nadim Ravski (Russia), Alfonso Pengas (Greece), Dr Matthias Chang and Zaryani Abdurrahman (Malaysia), Abuzied Edrisi (Morocco), NDiaye Alassane-Salif (Ivory Coast), Mohammed Mojtaba Khan (India), Shiraz Dossa (Canada), David Duke, Michael Collins Piper and Veronica Clarke (United States).

CHAPTER 6

Holocaust denial in the Muslim world

HOLOCAUST DENIAL in the Middle-East goes back to the period when former Nazis found refuge there after the Second World War. Countries that had not suffered from Nazi occupation, in the way that Europe had, were less hostile to these fascists than those that had witnessed life under the jackboot.

In the 1930s and 1940s European fascists had courted Arab nationalists in the hope of getting them to revolt against British colonialism in the region. Julius Streicher published an Iraqi edition of his antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*, and the Deutscher Verein in Cairo held anti-Jewish lectures and distributed antisemitic propaganda. Their work in Iraq paid off in 1941 when the new Premier, Rashid Ali, attacked a British air base in the country and called on Hitler to help him drive out the British, an uprising that was accompanied by a pogrom in Baghdad that left over 120 Jews dead.

The Palestinian wartime leadership held out no hope for sympathy from the British, largely because of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which the British government had promised to form a Jewish national home in Palestine. Haj Amin al Husseini, the Palestinian Mufti of Jerusalem, thought that a German victory would offer much greater hope for success in the Palestinians' fight against the Zionists, and spent most of the war in Berlin coordinating German propaganda that was broadcast throughout the Arab world.

Fritz Stangl, the commandant of Treblinka, lived in Damascus for several years before moving to Brazil, where he was finally caught and brought to Austria to stand trial. Alois Brunner, Adolf Eichmann's aide who played a central role in the extermination of the Jewish communities of Slovakia and Greece, spent virtually all the postwar years in Egypt and Syria, where it is believed he died in old age.

Egypt in particular threw open its doors, and this was not merely a case of offering refuge or asylum: as the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser put it, "We will use the services of those who know the mentality of our enemies". Thus former Nazi officials came to hold positions in the Egyptian government during the 1950s and 1960s. Franz Bartel, previously the assistant Gestapo chief of Katowitz, worked in the "Jewish Department" of Egypt's war office, while Standartenführer Baumann, who took part in the



Fritz Stangl



Gamal Abdel Nasser

liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto, worked for the Palestine Liberation Front – based in Egypt – as did SS-Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Börner. Several Nazi doctors found work in Egypt after the war, including Dr Herbert Heim, responsible for “experiments” on prisoners at Mauthausen camp, and Dr Willerman, who committed similar atrocities at Dachau. The fact that these Nazis were positively welcomed in Egypt, rather than merely slipping in unnoticed, is emphasised by Nasser’s repeated refusals to extradite them for war crimes, even to his East European and Soviet allies.

It was in the area of anti-Jewish propaganda that Nasser most desired Nazi expertise, and the Institute for the Study of Zionism, established in Cairo in 1959, employed several former officials of Goebbels’s department. When in 1953 a rumour spread that Hitler was still alive, the Egyptian newspaper *Al Musawwar* consulted several leading figures in the propaganda ministry. Luis Heiden, a former Nazi propaganda official, prepared a pocket-sized Arabic translation of *Mein Kampf*, which was issued as a gift to Egyptian army officers. The institute also played a role in another arm of Egypt’s anti-Jewish activities: building contacts with neo-nazis around the world.

As Holocaust denial became a central part of neo-nazi propaganda, so it followed that Arab backing for neo-nazi activity in the West increasingly involved denial of the Holocaust. The notion that Israel was formed by Western powers to purge their guilt for the Holocaust – and that Israel uses the Holocaust to justify occupation of Palestinian land – has encouraged the idea that Holocaust denial helps the Palestinian cause by undermining Israeli legitimacy, and this tactic has been taken up by many in the Arab and Muslim world.



Inamullah Khan

In March 1976 the Saudi Arabian representative to the United Nations even used Holocaust denial in a speech to the UN Security Council, claiming that Anne Frank's diary was a forgery and gas chambers were an invention of "the Zionist mass media". The following year the Saudi government provided \$25,000 to American neo-nazi William Grimstad of the National Alliance to write *AntiZion*, a collation of quotes from antisemites throughout history.

In 1981, Inamullah Khan, head of the Pakistan-based World Muslim League, put up the money for *AntiZion* and *The Six Million Reconsidered* – also by Grimstad – to be mailed to every British MP and members of the US Congress and Senate. Also in the 1980s the National

Front received funding from the Libyan and Iranian embassies in London. This adoption of neo-nazi propaganda is not limited to Holocaust denial. The notorious antisemitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is now much more widely available from Arab or Muslim publishers than from the far right, often masquerading under titles such as *Jewish Conspiracy and the Muslim World* or *Zionism and Internal Security*. The Islamic Propagation Organisation in Iran publishes both the *Protocols* and Henry Ford's *The International Jew*, for international distribution to Muslim bookshops.

Attention is often focussed on Iran because of its extreme state-sponsored Holocaust denial. However, it is by no means the only Middle Eastern State to welcome Holocaust deniers with open arms. David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and unabashed white supremacist, has long made efforts to reach out to the Middle East, writing sympathetically of the Palestinian cause as a counterweight to his rabid antisemitism. In 2002, he gave two antisemitic lectures in Bahrain on the topics "The Struggle against Zionism" and "Israeli involvement in September 11". Duke recalled: "I was received very well. We had packed, overflowing meeting in one hotel in Bahrain, and we actually had a huge hall there, and we had two packed meetings in a row on succeeding nights. Both audiences were packed. Two different lectures as to what's going on in terms of Israeli supremacism and Jewish supremacism. So the reception was fantastic..." His four day visit was sponsored by Mohammed Zuhair, manager of the Discover Islam

Centre. Disingenuously, Zuhair told the Dubai-based newspaper Gulf News that Duke was invited, not because of his antisemitic stance, but because he has recently authored a book that “exposes the Zionist agenda for world domination.”

Whilst in the region, Duke was also interviewed by the Qatar-based al-Jazeera satellite station, which occasioned complaints from the US State Department. “An audience of 70 million saw and listened to me expose the Jewish supremacist traitors in the U.S. Government who have sold out America to Israel,” wrote a gleeful Duke following the broadcast. For good measure he also wrote an article for the English-language Saudi Arabian Arab Times in which he claimed that Israel had “aided and abetted” the perpetrators of 9/11 and that Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, controlled al-Qaida. Such assertions, made by an American, no doubt delighted the Saudi Arabian regime which has lived under the shadow of the fact that fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 hijackers hailed from the Kingdom as did the late al-Qaida leader, Osama bin Laden.

Duke’s attempt to spread his gospel through the Middle East was temporarily halted in 2002 when he was imprisoned for mail fraud and tax violations for which he received a fifteen-month sentence. Released from prison in 2004, the following year Duke visited Syria where he addressed a rally in Damascus, the Syrian capital, which was later broadcast on state-run television. Duke told the crowd:

It saddens my heart to tell you that part of my country is occupied by Zionists just as part of your country, the Golan Heights, is occupied by Zionists. [They] occupy most of the American media and now control much of the American government... It is not just the West Bank of Palestine, it is not just the Golan Heights that are occupied by the Zionists, but Washington D.C. and New York and London and many other capitals of the world.

Having stated that “Your fight for freedom is the same as our fight for freedom” Duke then tried to lead the crowd in a chant of “No war for Israel”. Dr Muhammad Habash, a leading member of the Syrian Parliament stated, in a remark highlighted on Duke’s own website, that: “Dr. David Duke’s wonderful visit has given us a new and very positive view of the average American... It is Israel that is America’s real enemy as Parliamentarian (sic) David Duke has proven.” He also met and was greeted by the Grand Mufti of Syria as well as journalists like Dr. Nidal Kabalan who praised Duke’s stance. According to Duke, Kabalan subsequently gave a copy of his overtly antisemitic tome *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question* (2003) to president Ahmadinejad of Iran which one US scholar speculates “may have been the genesis of Ahmadinejad’s subsequent Holocaust denial”. Three days previously, on 21 November, Duke was also interviewed on Syrian television during the course of which he advertised

Jewish Supremacism and was quite candid in his approval of Syrian despot president Bashar al-Assad whom, he said, he admired “very much” and who he hoped to meet in person in order to “shake his hand”. During the course of the interview, Duke gave vent to his own antisemitic interpretation of the war in Iraq, which, he argued, was fought for Israel and the “racist religion” of Judaism. “Israel makes the Nazi state look very moderate in terms of its views,” claimed Duke. The following year, Duke was perhaps the most high profile Holocaust denier to attend the conference in Iran.

In some respects the entrée given to Duke is not surprising. Apart from giving sanctuary to Nazi war criminals, Syrian media outlets have featured Holocaust denial material for many years. Its various forms can be seen in three examples, which all converge around the same central point: that “Zionist” Jews have exaggerated or manufactured the Holocaust in order to justify the state of Israel. Therefore, the argument goes, if the Holocaust can be proven to be a myth, then any moral or legal justification for Israel automatically vanishes.

Thus, on 26 January 2010, the author of an article in the Syrian government daily *Al-Thawra* drew on a range of fascist Holocaust denial material from Europe and North America to claim that there were no Nazi gas chambers. “Global Zionism,” asserted the author, had used some of what did happen to the Jews, albeit vastly exaggerated, “as a means of plundering the countries of Europe... and emotionally [extorting] the world, in order to establish a state for the Jews in Palestine”. In an article entitled “What We Should Know About Hitler and the Jews,” which appeared in the Syrian government daily *Teshreen* on 15 June 2009, its author argued that the Holocaust was part of a “reciprocal murderous conflict” between Hitler and “Zionist Jews” and that “The lie about the annihilation of seven million Jews because of their race generated immense financial gain, and both the Zionists and the Israeli entity benefited from it”. The real victims, asserted the author, taking his cue from Robert Faurisson, were the German and Palestinian peoples. May 2008 saw an editorial in the same newspaper attacking Western leaders who “shed crocodile tears over the [Jewish] Holocaust – whose authenticity and number of victims are in doubt – while ignoring the present holocaust faced by the Palestinian people...”

Another outlet that has sought to foster cooperation between Western “revisionists” and the Muslim World is the Zayed Center for Coordination and Follow-up which was founded in 1999 as the official think tank of the Arab League. Located in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the organisation was chaired by H.H. Sheikh Sultan Bin Zayed al-Nahayan, the deputy prime minister of UAE and son of its president. Whilst it has staged a range of conferences addressed by perfectly respectable political and diplomatic figures, it has also regularly published antisemitic



H.H. Sheikh Sultan Bin Zayed al-Nahayan

Prince Fahd bin Salman of Saudi Arabia

propaganda aimed at delegitimising the state of Israel, including staging a conference in 2002, which branded the Holocaust a “false fable”. It has given a platform to figures like Michael Collins Piper, a corresponding editor for the American Free Press for which he has written since its inception in 2001, who subsequently attended the Iranian Holocaust denial conference. His appearance was not without its critics and was attacked by the Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, much to Piper’s chagrin.

Amongst the many canards spread by Piper during his speech to the Zayed Center was that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the infamous antisemitic forgery, was “not a theory but a real fact”. Piper is also the author of several books including *Final Judgement – The Missing Link in the JFK Assassination Conspiracy*, which alleges Israeli involvement in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. It has been translated into Arabic and published by the firm Dar El Illm Lilmalayin, based in Beirut, in 1991. Such views appear to have had some impact. “I learned some years ago — after my book was published,” noted Piper, “that Gen. Mustafa Tlass, the highly-regarded longtime Syrian defense minister, had made public statements to the effect that it was his opinion that there was in fact a Zionist role in the JFK assassination”. “My writings have also been used by Washington-based correspondents for Arab world newspapers and have provided the foundation for corresponding articles published in distinguished Arab world media. And I’m proud of that,” recalled Piper. Another of Piper’s books, *The High Priests of War*, an expose of neo-conservatism and the supposed forces behind it, is also scheduled for publication in Arabic. Whilst Piper advocates a reorientation of American foreign policy away from Israel towards the Arab world he is sanguine about the possibilities of “revisionism” playing a major role in such a reconfiguration, “because it is so emotional in nature

and because so many people have been exposed to the Jewish point of view". The centre was closed in 2003 following criticism of the increasingly extremist tenor of those invited to speak from its platform.

The closure of the Zayed Centre aside, other UAE media outlets have not been averse to promoting Holocaust denial. Indeed in January 2009 Mohammad Adullah Al Mutawa, a columnist for the Dubai-based *Gulf News*, wrote:

Today, the whole world stands as a witness to the fact that the Nazi holocaust was a mere lie, which was devised by the Zionists to blackmail humanity. The same Zionist entity swindled the world out of billions of dollars over the years to compensate the wrong and unjust which they claim to have been inflicted on their people. It is evident that the holocaust was a conspiracy hatched by the Zionists and Nazis, and many innocent people gave their lives as a result of this inhuman plot.

Given such views it is hardly surprising that European antisemites have long looked towards the Middle East not just for a platform for their views but also for funds. Sources in Saudi Arabia were believed to have financed the publication of *The Six Million Reconsidered* (1977) by American fascist William Grimstad, a former editor of *White Power*, who shortly afterwards registered with the State Department as an agent of the Saudi government. It was reported that Grimstad received a £25,000 "honorarium" from the Saudis. In 1981 and 1982, Grimstad, with the backing of Dr Inamullah Khan's Pakistani-based World Muslim Congress (WMC), mailed copies of *The Six Million Reconsidered* and his latest work *Anti-Zion*, a collation of quotes from antisemites throughout history, to members of the United States Congress and the British Houses of Parliament. Grimstad later went to work for Klan boss David Duke. For his part Khan later sent a letter to *The Spotlight*, a now defunct antisemitic newspaper founded by Willis Carto (which claimed a circulation of 315,000 at its height), praising it for its "superb in-depth analysis" which deserved "the thanks of all right-minded people". Issah Nakleh, a Palestinian writer affiliated to the WMC, later became both a regular contributor to the *Journal of Historical Review* as well as a fixture at conferences of the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) which was also founded by Carto in the late 1970s.

More recently, British antisemites have again tried to access Saudi funding for their activities. Britain's Michèle Renouf tried to raise money for David Irving in the Middle East after his attempt to sue American academic Deborah Lipstadt backfired leaving him bankrupt. Renouf arranged a

meeting for Irving with Prince Fahd bin Salman of Saudi Arabia, son of the governor of Riyadh and eldest nephew to King Fahd. The prince agreed to fund Irving and invited him to Harewood, his estate in Surrey. As an *Observer* investigation noted, “Just a month earlier Fahd had accompanied his father on a trade mission to Britain when he met the Queen and the Prime Minister”. Unfortunately for Irving Prince Fahd died suddenly shortly afterwards and he did not receive a penny.

Holocaust denial has also been championed by individual Saudis residing in the West. Foremost amongst these was Abdullah Mohammad Sindi, a former professor of Political Science and International Relations at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah. Shortly before his death in California in 2007 Sindi told the Iranian Mehr News Agency (MNA):

I agree wholeheartedly with President Ahmadinejad. There was no such thing as the ‘holocaust’. The so-called ‘holocaust’ is nothing but Jewish/Zionist propaganda. There is no proof whatsoever that any live Jew was ever gassed or burned in Nazi Germany or in any of the territories that Nazi Germany occupied during World War Two. The holocaust propaganda was started by the Zionist Jews in order to acquire world-wide sympathy for the creation of Israel after World War Two.

Sindi continued that the Iranian president “is 100% correct and 100% logical when he stated that if the European countries keep insisting that Nazi Germany gassed and burned 6 million live Jews, then Germany or Austria should be the real location of this rogue state of Israel”. It was Israel, asserted Sindi, which had created “a real holocaust” for the Palestinian people. Sindi was also close to the IHR, its journal publishing his essay “How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias against Arabs and Muslims” in 1998.

These examples and indeed countless others are perhaps as nothing to the reception accorded to the publication of Roger Garaudy’s, *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics) in 1996. The reaction to the book, and indeed Garaudy’s subsequent trial, in France provided a particular insight into how denial and revisionism have been instrumentalised in an attempt to de-legitimise Israel. Indeed the idea that the Holocaust is a “Zionist myth” or “Zionist lie” has become a central theme in this war of words. Garaudy, the author of the book, is a former Stalinist who was thrown out of the Parti Communiste Français (PCF – French Communist Party) in 1970 and later re-emerged as a convert to Islam. In France, Garaudy was prosecuted for incitement. In the Middle East, however, the book and its author were feted by the Arab media. Garaudy’s subsequent visits to the Middle East, including one to the Cairo Book Fair in 1998 generated considerable publicity, almost all of it favourable. Several Arabic translations subsequently appeared. Prominent

politicians commented positively on the book. None questioned Garaudy's claim that the Holocaust was an invention. This triggered an intense public debate about the publication which, notes Goetz Nordbruch in his detailed study of the affair, shone a light on the socio-historical dimensions of antisemitism in the Middle East which were refracted in the debate surrounding Garaudy's celebrated publication.

This embrace did not come from nowhere. The Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser had famously stated in 1964 that "[N]o person, not even the most simple takes seriously the lie of the six million Jews who were killed". Publications like Garaudy's were not responsible for injecting Holocaust denial or indeed antisemitism into Arabic discourse regarding Israel or "Zionism" however defined. They have, however, perhaps assisted in the erection of a more cogent intellectual framework for pre-existing beliefs.

Whilst Western Holocaust deniers have sought to reach out to Middle Eastern audiences and have, in many cases, received a welcome platform for their views, their attempts to actually organise in the region have had little success.

The prime example of this came in April 2001 when the Californian IHR attempted to hold a conference in Beirut, Lebanon, on the topic "Revisionism and Zionism". It was organised in conjunction with the Association Vérité et Justice ("Truth and Justice") headed by Swiss Holocaust denier Jürgen Graf who was then living in "exile" in Iran. The rationale underpinning the IHR's decision to hold the conference in the Middle East was their belief that "Zionists" exercised an "iron grip" over the Western media, their complete control of which "has enabled them to brainwash the broad public, which unknowingly accepts many Zionist legends and downright lies as undisputable historical facts. The so-called 'Holocaust' is but the most extreme example". Such control did not extend to the Middle East, believed the IHR. Thus: "Truth will liberate whole nations, among them the Palestinians who had their land stolen by Zionist usurpers, and millions of whom were turned into refugees under the pretext of the alleged Holocaust."

Their hopes were dashed, however, when the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri declared that "Lebanon has more important things to do than holding conferences that hurt its international standing and smear its name" and banned the conference. In response the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) stated that they would hold their own conference under the banner "What Happened to the Revisionist History conference in Beirut?" The principal organiser was Dr Ibrahim Alloush, a journalist and university lecturer in Amman, Jordan. Alloush, a regular columnist for the weekly Jordanian newspaper *Assabeel*, also edited the *Free Arab Voice* and was one of three Jordanians to attend the 2006 Holocaust denial conference in Iran.



Dr Ibrahim Alloush



Ahmed Rami

The Jordanian government forced the JWA to postpone the conference twice before Laith Shubeilat leader of the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR) of which Alloush was the “media coordinator” stepped in to take over its organisation. The conference duly took place on 13 May 2001 at the JWA’s offices in Amman.

The principal speakers there were Hayat Atiyah, a Lebanese journalist who “specialized in European historical revisionism” who told the gathering that “The new shape of Nazism is Zionism”; Arafat Hijjazi, a Jordanian journalist “known for his anti-Zionist stances” who has stated that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* represents the embodiment of “Jewish philosophy” and Alloush himself. Dr. Hisham Ghassib, Dean of the private Princess Sumaya University College and the president of the Socialist Thought Forum presided over the event. Alloush presented the paper that Robert Faurisson would have given to the Beirut conference had it not been cancelled and, together with Hayat Atiyeh, emphasised Garaudy’s contribution to “popularising revisionism in the Arab and Muslim worlds”. The audience was also introduced to a range of other sources as well as the figure of Ahmed Rami “for those who wanted an Arab Muslim figure of revisionism”.

The conference received widespread coverage across the Middle East, much to the delight of the IHR. “Extensive” videotaped portions of the conference were later broadcast on Al-Manar, the satellite television station belonging to Lebanon’s Hezbollah group. In response to a letter written by fourteen prominent Arab intellectuals condemning the meeting, the IHR issued a counter-letter which was published in a range of newspapers including Al Watan (Saudi Arabia), Al Arab Al Yowm (Jordan), Assabeel (Jordan), An Nahar (Lebanon), Al Mujtamaa (Kuwait) and reproduced on

numerous Internet sites. It was also the subject of a televised debate between Al Afif Lakhdar, a Tunisian intellectual based in Paris and Hayat Atiyeh, the Lebanese journalist who had addressed the JWA meeting. During the course of the debate Atiyeh displayed photographs of Palestinians killed by Israelis, telling viewers “This is the real holocaust, The other one is a fake”. During the course of the broadcast viewers were invited to take part in an on-line poll on the Al Jazeera website which gave viewers three options:

- 1) Do you think that Zionism is worse than Nazism?
- 2) Do you think that Zionism is the same as Nazism?
- 3) Do you think that Zionism is better than Nazism (not as bad)?

The results, announced at the end of the programme, revealed that 84 percent of respondents identified with the first proposition. The conference in Beirut may not have gone ahead but the IHR had every reason to be delighted with the result.

There are several individual propagandists who are worthy of mention. One is Ahmed Rami, briefly mentioned above. Rami is a former Moroccan military officer forced to flee the country in 1972 as a result of his role in a coup to topple King Hassan II. He is one of the most prominent Muslim Holocaust deniers. He lives, however, not in the Middle East but in Sweden to which he fled having been sentenced to death in Morocco. From Sweden he broadcasts his “Radio Islam” show over the Internet. His activities have seen him jailed on several occasions.

Also based in Sweden is Israel Shamir, “a professional anti-Zionist” who champions a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He uses several pseudonyms including Jöran Jermas and Adam Ermash (there are others too) and converted from Judaism to Christianity in the 1990s. Far from being simply anti-Zionist, however, Shamir’s views are unequivocally antisemitic. Shamir is a prolific writer who regularly assails “Jewish Media Lords”. He caused a good deal of controversy at a parliamentary book launch hosted by the Labour peer Lord Ahmed when he declared that “Jews... own, control and edit a big share of mass media”.

Shamir is not a Holocaust denier in the strictest sense of the word “denial”; other authors have called him a “doubter”. Shamir rails instead against “the morbid cult of the Holocaust”. In a recent interview Shamir’s stance was illuminated through the following exchange:

Interviewer: Should it be allowed to criticize the Zionist version of the Holocaust?

Shamir: More than that, I think it is a duty to do so. I think it is every Muslim’s and Christian’s duty to deny the Holocaust, to reject this belief, just as Abraham and Moses rejected the idols. Any person who confesses to

God should deny the Holocaust. I think it's much more serious that people deny God, right?

Interviewer: Today, even the Pope went out and demanded that they should believe in the Holocaust.

Shamir: It is terrible. There is only one God, the Holocaust is an idol. I refuse to worship the Holocaust.

Shamir denies making these remarks though it appears that he did. Shamir recently also came to light as a Russian correspondent for Wikileaks, the whistle-blowing website. His son, Johannes Wahlström, works for the organisation in Scandinavia. When the website released hundreds of thousands of diplomatic cables from the US State Department in 2010, *The Guardian* reported that Shamir took away copies of those cables dealing with Russia and the post-Soviet states. He also demanded to be given copies of cables relating to “the Jews” according to one insider. He later invoiced the group for €2,000, to be deposited in a Tallinn bank account for “services rendered – journalism”. He subsequently appeared in Moscow touting stories based on the cables to the Russian press for \$10,000 per article. Thereafter he travelled to Belarus, once described as Europe's last “outpost of tyranny” run by authoritarian dictator Alexander Lukashenko. Around the same time Shamir also penned a gushing piece of pro-Lukashenko propaganda for an American radical magazine stated that in Belarus “the people were happy, fully employed, and satisfied with their government”.

Wikileaks issued a press release distancing themselves from Shamir who, they state, “never worked or volunteered” for the organisation “in any manner whatsoever”. However, whilst Shamir was for many years a marginal figure a profile in *Tablet Magazine* recorded, “with Assange's backing, (he) has become a legitimate source of news and facts with a legitimate platform that is hard to ignore. His ideas may be heretical, mad, coming too fast to digest, but the Age of Assange has made Shamir less eccentric, more central – a dangerous man”.

The same principal applies to the multitude of Western Holocaust deniers. Their stature and writings has been elevated to a level of standing in the Middle East which is unimaginable in their own countries.

CHAPTER 8

Who's who of Holocaust Revisionism

- Gilad Atzmon (Britain)
- Jan Bernhoff (Sweden)
- Willis Carto (USA)
- David Duke (USA)
- Richard Edmonds (Britain)
- Enrique Aynat Eknes (Spain)
- Robert Faurisson (France)
- Ditlieb Felderer (Sweden)
- Wolfgang Fröhlich (Austria)
- Paul Fromm (Canada)
- Roger Garaudy (France)
- Flávio Goncalves (Portugal)
- Jürgen Graf (Switzerland)
- Nick Griffin (Britain)
- Gerd Honsik (Austria)
- David Irving (Britain)
- Jean-Marie Le Pen (France)
- Fred Leuchter (USA)
- Christian Lindtner (Denmark)
- Norman Lowell (Malta)
- Horst Mahler (Germany)
- Carlo Mattogno (Italy)
- Dieudonné M'bala M'bala (France)
- Konstantinos Plevris (Greece)
- Roland Raes (Belgium)
- Ahmed Rami (Sweden)
- Vincent Reynouard (France)
- Henri Roques (France)
- Germar Rudolf (Germany)
- Herbert Schaller (Austria)
- Bernhard Schaub (Switzerland)
- Simon Sheppard (Britain)
- Bradley R. Smith (USA)
- Georges Theil (France)
- Serge Thion (France)
- Gerald Fredrick Töben (Australia)
- Pedro Varela (Spain)
- Siegfried Verbeke (Belgium)
- Udo Walendy (Germany)
- Mark Weber (USA)
- Bishop R Williamson (Britain)
- Ernst Zündel (Canada)

Gilad Atzmon (Britain)

Gilad Atzmon is an Israeli born Jewish jazz musician, who has taken up citizenship in Britain, where he now lives. Gilad Atzmon is not a straight forward Holocaust denier in the sense of pushing comprehensive denials about the existence of gas chambers, or the near genocide of European Jewry. Instead, he abuses the Holocaust, as he does other aspects of Jewish identity and history, in service of a self-defined “anti-Zionism”.



Most of Atzmon’s writings appear as an internet blog. Some of these were published as a book in 2011 called *The Wandering Who?*

The book claims to be a study of Jewish identity politics. It sneers at the memory of the Holocaust with a chapter titled *Swindlers List*, and condemns Holocaust remembrance as a religion. The unlikely Holocaust denier says:

“It took me years to accept that the Holocaust narrative, in its current form, doesn’t make any historical sense. Here is just one little anecdote to elaborate on: If, for instance, the Nazis wanted the Jews out of their Reich (Judenrein - free of Jews), or even dead, as the Zionist narrative insists, how come they marched hundreds of thousands of them back into the Reich at the end of the war?... if the Nazis ran a death factory in Auschwitz-Birkenau, why would the Jewish prisoners join them at the end of the war? Why didn’t the Jews wait for their Red liberators?”

Atzmon argues that Jews are part of an organism without formal leadership that works in harmony across the world because of a shared spirit that manifests itself through Zionism, but also through other forms of collective Jewish activity. In this vein even those anti-Zionist Jews who have spoken out against him are tainted because they have organised together as Jews.

In May 2011 Atzmon used a Holocaust denial website to advertise a speech he gave in Oakland, California. The website, run by Michael Santomauro, carried an advert that Atzmon himself sent for publication. Santomauro was a promoter of David Irving’s (q.v.) New York meetings and even booked the venues. Revelations of this were leaked and published on the internet. Santomauro is also reported to have run the Holocaust denial website VHO during the imprisonment of its founder Germar Rudolf (q.v.) for violation of Germany’s laws against promotion of racism.

In one political speech, currently on YouTube, Atzmon announced that “I support every form of history revisionism - including Holocaust revisionism”.

For some time left-wing anti-Zionists defended Atzmon's views, but since he embraced Holocaust Revisionism, publicised the work of outright Holocaust deniers and came out with other irrefutably antisemitic comments, his support base on the anti-Zionist left has waned.

Nevertheless, there are still some left activists and academics who are prepared to defend him in spite of the evidence and have praised *The Wandering Who?*

Jan Bernhoff (Sweden)

Jan Bernhoff is a Swedish Holocaust denier and school teacher who attended the Holocaust denial conference in Iran in 2006 (International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust). Born in Umeå 1971, Bernhoff grew up in Haparanda in northern Sweden by the Finnish border. He was the sole Swedish delegate at the conference where he delivered a talk entitled "The Holocaust Demography" claiming that only 300,000 Jews were killed during the Second World War. He went on to conclude: "As if this wasn't bad enough, the figure 6,000,000 where not even invented during or after WWII, but long before. As we have seen, well organised Jewish interest groups used this figure already during WWI to collect money for their purposes. This money then mainly supported the building up of the Soviet Union".



His appearance at the Tehran Holocaust denier's conference was not without personal consequences. Upon his return to Sweden his notoriety was such that he was forced to leave his job as a computer studies teacher at Åsö Åsö High School. He agreed to leave his job in return for a pay-off from his employer.

Bernhoff appears to have been staggeringly naive in his belief that his presence at the conference would go unremarked upon. "I thought it would be OK since I went there in my leisure time and besides that I do not work as a history teacher but as a computer teacher", he later commented. His views on the Holocaust had been well known, however, since Bernhoff's days as a student at Lund University. After graduating he moved to Stockholm and entered a teaching training programme at Åsö for seven years "keeping a keen eye on history as a hobby". Despite attempts to cultivate an air of academic impartiality, Bernhoff was present at a meeting organised in secret for French Holocaust denier Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*), by the openly nazi *Nationalsocialistisk front* (NSF – National Socialist Front) on 3 March 2007 shortly after both men had returned from Iran. Notably, the NSF also staged demonstrations demanding the release of imprisoned Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) in July 2007 before changing their name first to Folkfronten 2008 and to Svenskarnas Parti in 2009.

Willis Carto (USA)

Willis Carto is one of the most important figures in the international Holocaust denial movement. Active in extremist politics for decades, in 1955 Carto founded the Liberty Lobby which, together with its newspaper *The Spotlight* became an important font of antisemitic conspiracy theory which suffused the far right. He was also the founder of the Noontide Press which specialised in disseminating Holocaust denial material and the works of American neo-Nazi Francis Parker Yockey, a pivotal influence upon him.



In 1979 Carto founded the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) as a distribution outlet for Holocaust denial material with the assistance of “Lewis Brandon” a pseudonym for David McCalden, a former National Front (NF) activist who emigrated to the United States.

The IHR soon grew into a major centre for Holocaust denial across the world. Its magazine, *The Journal of Historical Review* and the conferences it staged became a magnet for Holocaust deniers the world over, serving as a beacon of hope for those in countries where their writings would otherwise have led to prosecution. Such was its success in disseminating this ideology, notes anti-fascist, Lenny Zeskind, that “every Klansman and white power skinhead knew the central claims of the IHR’s Holocaust denial literature, even if they could not tell you the name of the Congressman who represented their district or the Governor of their state”. Their success was wider still according to public opinion surveys. One, conducted in 1992, found that 38% of American adults were aware of the claim that the Holocaust did not happen.

However, in 1993 the IHR tore itself apart in a dispute over a \$7.5 million bequest and Carto was “fired” from the organisation he had founded. The IHR then spent the bulk of its energies on costly litigation against Carto. This sapped the strength of the IHR and led to its near downfall. It remains active on the Internet, however, though has yet to regain the standing it had achieved earlier. For his part Carto was forced to close the Liberty Lobby in 2001 after it was declared bankrupt as a result of his dispute with the IHR. Nevertheless, Carto continued his activities replacing *Spotlight* with the *American Free Press* (where one of its leading journalists is Michael Collins Piper) and founding a new journal, *The Barnes Review*, to serve as a replacement disseminating Holocaust denial. Despite his age, he remains active.

David Duke (USA)

David Duke is perhaps one of the world's most famous racist extremists. Originally based in Louisiana, Duke joined the National Socialist White Peoples Party (NSWPP), a successor to the American Nazi Party (ANP). He earned his spurs in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), rising to become Grand Wizard of his own group, the Knights of the KKK. Duke, part of a new breed of racist extremists to arise during this period, was young and photogenic. Moreover he was determined to make extremism a saleable commodity to the wider public. These efforts led to a series of publicity stunts aimed at making the KKK attractive to disillusioned white voters who felt alienated from mainstream politics.



Describing himself not as a “racist” but as a “race realist” and switching Klan robes for a smart suit, Duke’s efforts culminated in his rebranding the branch of the KKK he ran as the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), consciously mocking the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), America’s oldest civil rights’ organisation.

In 1989 Duke joined the Republican Party and, having secured nomination, stood for election in the Louisiana House of Representatives. To great shock he was elected. Subsequent campaigns for the US Senate and to become Governor of Louisiana all failed, however. In 2003 Duke was imprisoned for mail fraud and tax evasion, serving thirteen months in a Federal Penitentiary after admitting that he stole thousands of dollars from followers. This appeared to spell the end of his career but Duke proved more resilient, and indeed impervious to criticism. Equally surprising was the number of supporters he retained. In 2005 he was awarded a doctorate from the Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP) a Ukrainian institution with a strongly antisemitic flavour. Duke’s thesis was entitled “Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacism.” Duke is close to a range of extremists the world over including Nick Griffin (*q.v.*) who earned himself much derision when he defended Duke’s KKK on live television as “non-violent”. He also has a longstanding relationship with Don Black who owns and operates the Stormfront website, the largest forum in the world for white supremacists, racists and other assorted antisemites.

In recent years Duke has been active in Russia and Eastern Europe as well as in the Middle Eastern states of Syria and Iran. He was a keynote speaker at the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in December 2006 telling the audience that: “The Zionists have used the Holocaust as a

weapon to deny the rights of the Palestinians and cover up the crimes of Israel... This conference has an incredible impact on Holocaust studies all over the world... The Holocaust is the device used as the pillar of Zionist imperialism, Zionist aggression, Zionist terror and Zionist murder.” Duke is the author of several books including *My Awakening* (1998) and *Jewish Supremacism* (2002).



David Duke in his Klan regalia

Richard Edmonds (Britain)

Richard Edmonds was the right hand man to John Tyndall, the founder of the BNP, Britain's largest fascist party. Edmonds remains a prominent figure within the British far right, though he recently switched allegiance from the BNP to the more hardline National Front.



During the 1990s Edmonds was a key player in the distribution and production of the newspaper *Holocaust News* which proclaimed that the Holocaust was a “hoax”. Despite attempts by the BNP to purge itself of open antisemitism, the message does not appear to have reached its former national organiser who, until recently, sat on the party's ruling Advisory Council.

Edmonds remains addicted to denial. He is regularly to be found in the company of Lady Renouf and has travelled to Germany to support Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) upon his release from prison in 2010. This is despite Renouf having been officially banned from BNP meetings in 2006. In May 2011 Edmonds announced that he was challenging Nick Griffin (*q.v.*) for the leadership of the BNP but in the end he withdrew his candidacy shortly afterwards in favour of Andrew Brons MEP, who was thought to be better placed to defeat Griffin.

Enrique Aynat Eknes (Spain)

Enrique Aynat Eknes is the author of several Spanish-language works which deny the Holocaust, including *El Diario ABC y El Holocausto*, which purports to be a study of this leading Spanish newspapers wartime coverage of the Holocaust, and *Los 'Protocolos de Auschwitz': ¿Una fuente histórica?* (*The 'Auschwitz Protocols': A Historical Source?*), "a study of the first detailed investigations of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz". He has written several other books including *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'* (1994), and *El Holocausto a debate* (1995).

Aynat was a member of the National Socialist Spanish Party (PENS) and of the most significant Spanish Nazi organisation, CEDADE, where he met with leaders like Pedro Varela. He was considered a defender of the most radical "Nietzschean & Darwinists" thesis inside CEDADE, together with other prominent members, such as Nazi propagandist Ramón Bau. In an article published in 1981 in the journal of this organisation titled "Hitler: have we understood or forgotten him?" which argued against human rights, the handicapped, Jews and praised Hitler, calling the fight "for a pure hard world, with no morons, inhabited by men and women of pure race, making a natural life, governed by Aryan ethics where the Zionist spiritual poison is just a sad memory".

In the late 1980s and early 1990s he was a contributor to the Institute of Historical (IHR) journal. French Holocaust denier Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) praised his work in Iran in December 2006 as being amongst several "essential studies" authored by the Holocaust denial movement. His researches, particularly his article "Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Case Study", which appeared in the *Journal of Historical Review*, have also been aided by the "material, criticism, and suggestions" furnished to him by Italian Holocaust denier Carlo Mattogno. His work has been praised as "excellent" by IHR director Mark Weber (*q.v.*). According to one "revisionist" website he holds a law degree.

Robert Faurisson (France)

Robert Faurisson is one of the world's most infamous Holocaust deniers. A former Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon II, Faurisson, who was born in Shepperton, England in 1929, has been active in the Holocaust denial movement since he was "outed" by the French satirical magazine *Le Canard Enchaîné* in 1974.



He gained further notoriety in 1978 following the publication of an article in *Le Monde* entitled "Problem of the Gas-Chambers". Faurisson has been convicted of Holocaust denial-related offences on a number of occasions. In her biography of Faurisson, Valérie Igounet (*Portrait d'un négationniste*, 2012) shows proof that far from being apolitical, Faurisson began doubting the history of the Second world War as early as 1948, when attending the trial of Pierre Gallet, a dignitary of the collaborationist French Milice. In the 1970s, Faurisson also wrote articles for the neo-fascist quarterly *Défense de l'Occident*, founded by Maurice Bardèche.

In 1991 Faurisson was removed from his position as professor under the provisions of the Gayssot Act. His works were distributed by *La Vieille Taupe* (Old Mole), a left-wing publishing house later re-launched as a Holocaust denial emporium by Pierre Guillaume. Faurisson's international profile received a boost when Serge Thion (*q.v.*) induced renowned left-libertarian writer and linguist Noam Chomsky to sign a petition calling on authorities to ensure Robert Faurisson's "safety and the free exercise of his legal rights." Thion then persuaded Chomsky to write "a brief statement on the purely civil libertarian aspects of this affair" which Chomsky told Thion he could use "as he wished". It subsequently appeared as an introduction to one of Faurisson's books, *Mémoire en Défense* (1980), sparking widespread controversy, particularly in France.

Faurisson's forthright denial of the Holocaust and his claim that Anne Frank's diary is a fake has earned him a level of notoriety above and beyond that enjoyed by many other Holocaust deniers. He has appeared as a witness at the trials of Holocaust deniers like Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) in Canada and Nick Griffin (*q.v.*) in Britain. Faurisson, who is now in his eighties, remains active and continues to be feted by the world's Holocaust deniers, including figures like Michelle Renouf.

In 2006 Faurisson was put on trial, this time as a result of an interview with Sahar 1, the Iranian television station he gave in February 2005. The following year Faurisson addressed the Iranian Holocaust denial conference staged in Tehran in a speech entitled "The Victories of Revisionism" in which he reaffirmed his belief, first expressed in 1980, that "The alleged Hitlerite

gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle whose main beneficiaries are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people – but not their leaders – and the Palestinian people in their entirety.”

His eightieth birthday was celebrated by a gaggle of racists and antisemites in the Parisian theatre owned by Dieudonné M'bala M'bala (*q.v.*) who, during the course of the proceedings, made a number of antisemitic utterances that led to him being fined by a French court.

Ditlieb Felderer (Sweden)

Felderer, born 1942, is an Austrian born Holocaust denier best known for his book *Anne Frank's Diary – A Hoax* (1978), published by the Californian Institute of Historical Review (IHR).

Born in Innsbruck, Austria, in 1942, Felderer was brought up in Sweden after his family fled Nazi-controlled territory during the Second World War. In 1959 he became a Jehovah's Witness but was later expelled from the group after his "revisionist" tendencies led him to challenge accounts of the Nazis' persecution of the sect. In 1977 Felderer was responsible for publishing a Swedish-language edition of "Richard Harwood's" notorious book *Did Six Million Really Die?* (1974), distributing thousands of copies of it. He also authored another book, *Auschwitz Exit*, under the pseudonym "Abraham Cohen". Felderer was one of the "expert witnesses" at the trial of Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel (q.v.) in 1985 and again in at 1988 and subsequently claimed that there was a swimming pool, dance hall and concert auditorium for concentration camp inmates at Auschwitz, an argument latterly regurgitated by British holocaust denier Nick Kollerstrom (q.v.).

He has had several brushes with the law including a ten month prison sentence handed to him in 1985 for producing several flyers, including one, sent to staff at the Auschwitz Museum in Poland, entitled "Please accept this hair of a gassed victim" in 1983. In 1986 he was convicted of libelling Mel Mermelstein, a Holocaust survivor famous for his legal victory over the IHR.

Even within the Holocaust denial scene Felderer was known for his "weird sense of humor and outlandish, offensive cartoons". These and other personal idiosyncrasies led to his being ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment. Despite being something of a trail blazer, the crudity of his antisemitic propaganda led to a loss of standing within the Holocaust denial scene. Dropped from the IHR editorial advisory committee Felderer later moved to the Canary Islands where his activities proved too much for the Spanish authorities who deported him back to Sweden. Latterly he has set up several websites which blend Holocaust denial and pictures of erect penises.

Felderer was a delegate to the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in 2006, a proposition in keeping with his self-presentation as both a "foremost anti-Zionist" and as an expert in concentration camps "and how Zionists use Exterminationism in their racist fight against the Arab and Muslim world". He worked closely with fellow Swedish antisemite Ahmed Rami (q.v.) of Radio Islam.

Wolfgang Fröhlich (Austria)

Fröhlich, born 1952, is one of Austria's most active Holocaust deniers and author of *The Gas Chamber Fraud* which he issued as a book and a CD in which he stated that assertions about the gas chambers were an act of "psychological terrorism". A former Viennese councillor for the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ – Austrian Freedom Party), Fröhlich was expelled from Austria's premier far right party in 1994 for a public speech railing against the "multicultural bastardisation" of Austria society. In 1998 German Holocaust denier Jürgen Graf (*q.v.*) attempted to utilise his services as an "expert witness" during his own prosecution though his testimony was rejected by the court.



Fröhlich was jailed for three years (two of them were released on license) in 2003 as a result of his Holocaust denial activities. His defence lawyer, Dr Herbert Schaller, has defended numerous other deniers and antisemites.

He attended the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in 2006 but did not speak for fear that the Austrian authorities would prosecute him upon his return. In May 2000, in the aftermath of Graf's case, Fröhlich wrote to the Iranian Embassy asking for political asylum in the building and indeed during the course of his 2003 trial claimed to have been "in political exile in a foreign embassy" but refused to elaborate.

Fröhlich was jailed in January 2008 for four years for denying the Holocaust (with a further two-and-a-half years added from a previous suspended sentence for a similar offence) for writing to Austrian MPs and Pope Benedict XVI stating that the Holocaust was a "Satanic lie".

In 2010, Fröhlich was sentenced to a further two years in jail after having written letters, while imprisoned, claiming that extermination camps were technically impossible and that not more than 1.5 million Jews were murdered in the Holocaust. The letters were sent to the president of the Austrian National Assembly, cardinal Christoph Schönborn and high-ranking officials in law enforcement. A psychiatric examination of Fröhlich indicated a certain degree of paranoia which the jury saw as mitigating circumstances.

Paul Fromm (Canada)

Paul Fromm was a school teacher in Ontario until 1997 when his unpalatable views and activities cost him his job. Suspended from his job he was finally stripped of his teaching license in 2007, ten years later. During the course of his long political career Fromm has headed up several organisations from his native Canada including the Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform (CFAR), the Canada First Immigration Reform Committee (CFIRC) and the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE).



CAFE took a leading role in defending Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) and raising money for his defence. His activities in defence of Holocaust deniers won Fromm the Doug Collins Free Speech Award, presented at David Irving's (*q.v.*) Real History conference in Cincinnati in 2002. Collins, a former journalist for Vancouver's *North Shore News*, who had contributed to the *Journal of Historical Review* and addressed IHR conferences (the IHR described him as a "friend of revisionism"), was perhaps most famous for attacking the film *Schindler's List* as "Swindler's List" and decrying the figure of six million as "nonsense".

Fromm, who is extremely active on the US white supremacist website Stormfront on which he hosts an internet radio show, is Canada's leading Holocaust denier. He has attended a range of racist conferences in the United States, and indeed across the globe, including those of The Barnes Review and meetings of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a successor to the White Citizens' Councils which sought to enforce segregation in the 1950s and 1960s. CAFE has campaigned on behalf of various Holocaust deniers. Fromm is particularly incensed that David Irving (*q.v.*) has been banned from Canada since 1992 and tried to rally support for him against the Austrian government in 2005. Latterly, Fromm was involved the Aryan Guard, a small nazi group whose rally he attended.

Interviewed by Iran's Mehr News Agency in December 2006, Fromm told the interviewer that the Holocaust "story" had "allowed the Jews to acquire many billions of dollars in reparations from Germany and other countries. It has also made many people in Europe and North America ready to overlook Israeli atrocities and brutality". Fromm went on to dismiss the Holocaust as "a religion created by the Jews for non-Jews. Like many religions, it's a means of controlling the believers". Furthermore it was a "selfish story serving the political and economic interests of the Zionists".

Roger Garaudy (France)

Born in 1913, Roger Garaudy is a key figure in the utilisation of Holocaust denial as a tool in the service of a particular form of “anti-Zionism”, seen most visibly through his seminal work *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (*The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*), which has enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Arab world since its publication in 1995.

Garaudy was at one time a leading light in the French Communist Party (PCF), close to its leader Maurice Thorez, and was for a time one of its delegates to the French National Assembly. A devoted Stalinist intellectual, Garaudy was apparently the author of the party aphorism: “In every just thought, Stalin is there; in every just action, Stalin is there!” According to Michel Winock, Garaudy helped to direct the party’s “thought police” attacking authors like Arthur Koestler and Victor Kravchenko whose work highlighted Soviet crimes, most notably its vast Gulag system. He was expelled from the PCF in 1970, having deviated from the party line, and disappeared for a time. He re-emerged in the 1990s as a vociferous critic of Israel having converted to Islam in the early 1980s. His conversion took place at an Islamic centre in Geneva controlled by the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood.

Garaudy’s prosecution in 1998 as a result of *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne*, which was published by La Vieille Taupe, brought him and his work widespread publicity. Hugely popular in the Arab world, the book was quickly translated into Farsi and Arabic. When Garaudy was found guilty, \$50,000 was donated to his defence fund by the wife of Sheikh Zayed Sultan Al Nahayn, president of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Feted by the Iranians – Former President Rafsanjani dubbed him “a Muslim hero” – Garaudy met with Iran’s Supreme Leader Ali Khomeini; President Khatami and Parliamentary Speaker Al Akbar Nateq-Nuri. Garaudy visited Egypt in 1998 at the invitation of Farouk Hosni, the Egyptian Minister of Culture and was received with great fanfare.

In June 1999, a group of Jordanian intellectuals named Garaudy as “the most important international cultural personality of the 20th century.” The former Syrian Vice President Abdul-Halim Khaddam called Garaudy “the greatest contemporary Western philosopher” whilst the former Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi went further by lauding him as “Europe’s greater (sic) philosopher since Plato and Aristotle.” His popularity and influence endures. In 2006 Hassan Nasrallah, leader of the Iranian-backed Hezbollah group praised Garaudy as “a great French philosopher” whose book had “proved that this Holocaust is a myth”. Latterly, Garaudy has expressed the view that 9/11 was organised by the Bush administration.

Garaudy died in July 2012.

Flávio Goncalves (Portugal)

Originally from Portugal's Azorean archipelago, Goncalves attended the 2006 Iranian Holocaust denial conference, though did not address the gathering. Nevertheless it provided him with the opportunity of consorting with Professor Robert Faurisson and Serge Thion "and many other 'left-wing' Historians – even though the mainstream media insists in labelling us all something else".



Goncalves was also as a founder of the Portuguese-Iranian Friendship Society (PIFS) which was established in November 2006 and which maintains the blog *Solidariedade com o Irão* (Solidarity towards Iran) disseminating a range of Portuguese news articles in support of Iran, as well as items replicated from the official state-run Iranian media outlets. He is also an author and correspondent for the web-based "Mathaba News Network", which describes itself as an "independent news agency". The content of Mathaba, which is registered in Britain, is largely anti-American and anti-Israel, added to which has been its support for the former Libyan dictator Muammar al-Gaddafi, touted as a "revolutionary freedom fighter". Goncalves was also the Portuguese representative of the Association for one Democratic State in Palestine/Israel (ODSPI), presided over by Mahmoud Nimir Musa which characterises Israel as a "brutal racist state".

Goncalves began his political career as a teenager, involved with several anarchist groups before by his own admission he "spent quite a few years wandering from party to party, from the far-right to the far-left". He was a leading figure in *Terra, identidade e resistência* (TIR – Land, Identity and Resistance), a small "national revolutionary" group which was later "legally disbanded" and succeeded, shortly afterwards, by the Free Revolutionaries Circle and the National-Anarchist Faction, the latter an idea evolved principally by Troy Southgate, a former NF member and "third positionist" fascist. Members of TIR also founded the Portuguese section of the French "alternative news agency" No Media, which acts as a counterpoint to Novopress and Altermedia.

Jürgen Graf (Switzerland)

Jürgen Graf, who was born in Basel in 1951, is a prominent Swiss Holocaust denier. He has written a number of Holocaust denial tracts, three in collaboration with the Italian Holocaust denier Carlo Mattogno (*q.v.*) whom he has accompanied on research trips to Russian archives. These works were published by Germar Rudolf's (*q.v.*)



publishing house which has also published *The Giant with the Feet of Clay* (1999) Graf's attack on the historian Raul Hilberg, author of *The Destruction of European Jewry* (1961). Graf was president of his own *Association Vérité et Justice* ("Truth and Justice"), which, founded in 1998, published a number of similar works as well as attempting, unsuccessfully, to organise a Holocaust denial conference in Beirut, Lebanon in 2001.

Graf, an accomplished linguist, had worked as a school teacher but, following his conversion to the cause of Holocaust denial, apparently in 1991, was dismissed from his post in the wake of the publication of a German-language edition of his book *Holocaust on the Test Stand* in 1993. It subsequently appeared in several European languages not to mention both Arabic and Russian. Two hundred thousand copies of the Russian edition were allegedly published under the title *The Myth of the Holocaust* according to one denial site.

Graf's writings led him into collision with the law and in 1998 he and his publisher Gerhard Förster were prosecuted. Graf was subsequently sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment and a hefty fine. Rather than serve his sentence Graf fled initially to Poland from whence he departed to Russia, Ukraine and Turkey before arriving in Iran where he learned Farsi and lectured at Iranian universities. "The warm welcome being given to Jürgen Graf in Iran," noted the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), "is not only a dramatic expression of support for intellectual freedom and human rights, it further refutes the often-made claim that Holocaust revisionism has no significant public or scholarly support". Graf subsequently moved to Russia and in 2001 he married a Russian historian in Moscow.

As a former language teacher Graf found employment as a translator, including for the *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG) which, since its foundation in 1997 by the Belgian brothers' Siegfried and Herbert Verbeke (*q.v.*), has been a leading vehicle for Holocaust denial in Europe. Since 1997 he has also sat on the editorial advisory committee of the *Journal of Historical Review*, organ of the IHR.

Nick Griffin (Britain)

Nick Griffin, the leader of the British National Party (BNP) and an MEP for the North West region, no longer finds it expedient to deny the Holocaust in public though his pronouncements and writings often betray an antisemitic tinge. This is hardly surprising given that during the 1990s, this former National Front (NF) chairman was one of the country's most aggressive and offensive Holocaust deniers. In his magazine *The Rune* Griffin declared that: "I am well aware that the orthodox opinion is that six million Jews were gassed and cremated and turned into lampshades. Orthodox opinion also once held that the Earth was flat... I have reached the conclusion that the 'extermination' tale is a mixture of Allied wartime propaganda, extremely profitable lie, and latter witch-hysteria."



These remarks and others, led to Griffin's successful prosecution in 1998 for inciting racial hatred. One of the "expert" witnesses in his defence at the trial was Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*), the noted French Holocaust denier. He received a nine-month prison sentence, suspended for two years. During this period Griffin was part of the international Holocaust denial movement. He met with German Holocaust denier Germar Rudolf (*q.v.*), whilst the latter was engaged in a decade long flight from prosecution in Germany. The following year Griffin was elected chairman of the BNP, ousting its founder John Tyndall, himself an antisemite and Holocaust denier. Having achieved a modicum of electoral success for the BNP in the aftermath of serious race riots in northern cities, the 9/11 attacks on America and the 7/7 attacks on the London transport system Griffin was elected to the European Parliament in 2009.

Since this highpoint, however, the BNP has been in decline as a result of internal schisms that have laid waste to its representation in council chambers the length and breadth of the country. Many followers and activists now deem Griffin and his Holocaust denial "baggage" as being "toxic" to the continued success of the party. In 2011 Griffin faced a serious challenge to his leadership from Andrew Brons, also a BNP MEP. Griffin won the election by the narrow margin of nine votes.

The BNP has faced a political challenge from the English Defence League and this has forced Nick Griffin to move to the right, both courting more hardline elements of the British Right and also using the presence of Jewish and Zionist figures in the 'Counter-Jihad' movement (a loose network of anti-Muslim organisations and bloggers) to attack EDL leader Stephen Lennon.

Gerd Honsik (Austria)

Gerd Honsik, born 1941, is a leading Austrian Holocaust denier whose activities have seen him imprisoned on a number of occasions. Active within several far right political groups in Austria, Honsik, a nephew of executed Nazi war criminal Amon Göth, commandant of the Plaszów concentration camp, was born in Vienna in 1941. He is the author of *Freispruch für Hitler? 36 ungehörte Zeugen wider die Gaskammer* (*Acquittal for Hitler? 36 Unheard Witnesses against the Gas Chamber Lie*). Published in 1988 the book consists of a number of interviews with former Nazis who denied the Holocaust and thus exonerate Hitler. Honsik was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment as a result of publishing the book but, rather than face the music, he fled to Spain in 1992.



From his Iberian exile Honsik continued to edit his “revisionist” newsletter *Halt* (*Stop*). Published in Barcelona on the printing press of CEDADE (Spanish Circle of the Friends of Europe), Honsik worked alongside its leader Pedro Varela (*q.v.*). Denied political asylum in Spain he was nevertheless free to operate with impunity as Spain refused to extradite him to Austria. Honsik was therefore able to provide safe haven to the octogenarian Otto Ernst Remer, a prominent figure within the German far right who fled a twenty-two month jail sentence from a German court. Remer had won favour with Hitler for his brutal suppression of the 1944 bomb plot conspiracy, executing many of its leaders in the hours after the failed attempt on Hitler's life.

Honsik was also involved with the *Verein zur Rehabilitierung der wegen Bestreitens des Holocaust Verfolgten* (VRBHV – Society for the rehabilitation of those persecuted for refutation of the Holocaust), which “plays a special role in promoting Holocaust denial”. Founded on 9 November 2003, the VRBHV represents an international coalition of Holocaust deniers, hardcore nazis and antisemites.

After fifteen years on the run Honsik's luck finally ran out and he was arrested in Benalmadena, near Malaga, on the Costa del Sol, in 2007 and deported to Austria to face justice following the issuance of a European-wide arrest warrant. He was invited to appear at the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in 2006 but could not attend because his passport was invalid. Dr Herbert Schaller, his lawyer who has acted for many leading Holocaust deniers including David Irving (*q.v.*), travelled to Tehran in his place. In April 2009 he was jailed for five years, reduced to four on appeal. In 2010 Honsik was jailed for another two years, reduced to six month on

appeal in 2011. Because of his poor health and assuming that he would retire in Spain, Honsik was released on probation in September 2011. Since his release, Honsik has lived with his family in Spain by a. On 12 November 2012, Honsik was questioned (via video conference from Spain) by a court in Graz in an assault case against notorious nazi Franz Radl and several other fascists.

David Irving (Britain)

In 2000, David Irving, once the most successful and respectable of the “revisionists”, committed an astonishing act of reputational suicide. Born in 1939 he made his career as a controversial historian following the publication of a number of works on the destruction of Dresden, Rommel, Churchill and Hitler’s generals. His work was frequently applauded for its utilisation of the hitherto untapped personal papers of former leading Nazis and indeed interviews with them, though commentators rarely seem to have asked why Irving would have been entrusted with such sources had he not enjoyed the confidence and respect of the surviving Nazi top brass. It was his 1977 book, *Hitler’s War*, however, that singled him out as something more than a controversial maverick. The book argued in essence that Hitler was unaware of the genocide of the Jews, which at that time Irving acknowledged had happened. It was not until 1988 that Irving publicly denied the genocide of the Jews. Irving objected to the appellation of Holocaust denier, however. Hoisted by his own petard, Irving’s attempt to sue Professor Deborah Lipstadt who had called him just that in her book *Denying History: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993), led to a High Court judge finding in Lipstadt’s favour. His reputation irreparably tarnished, Irving also had to endure the ignominy of being declared bankrupt as a result of his folly.



Moving to Windsor, into a house rented to him by an American supporter, Irving held a number of soirees – which attracted various BNP members – as well as Archbishop Richard Williamson (*q.v.*). In 2005 Irving attempted to speak in Austria where there was already an outstanding arrest warrant for him as a result of two speeches he had given in 1989. He was arrested, and in February 2006 sentenced to three years in jail. He was released later that year in December. Whilst Irving may have tried to pretend that it was business as usual, his reduced circumstances in the wake of his failed libel trial were reflected in his reliance on book tours to the United States, addressing small crowds of neo-nazis, antisemites and anti-immigration activists.

In September 2010 Irving’s actions created a minor furore as he led a group of devotees to Auschwitz in Poland in support of his forthcoming biography of Heinrich Himmler, architect of the Nazi genocide. Another highlight of the trip was a visit to Hitler’s bunker, the Wolf’s Lair, where, according to Irving, in 1944 “Germany army traitors” attempted to assassinate the Führer. He continues to be regarded as one of the leading figures, and certainly one of the most articulate, in the international Holocaust denial movement, though his influence has waned significantly in recent years.

Jean-Marie Le Pen (France)

Jean-Marie Le Pen, the former president of the French Front National (FN) since its inception in 1972 until 2011, has been prominent in trivialising the Holocaust, which he has infamously dismissed as a “detail” in history. Le Pen is no fringe politician. The FN became the premier far right party in Europe, looked upon with longing and admiration by foreign fascists who could only dream of mimicking its successes. His personal electoral triumphs include being elected to the French National Assembly in 1986 (having served for the first time from 1956 till 1962) and having sat in the European Parliament since 1984. He has run for president on five separate occasions. In 2002 he created something of an earthquake in contemporary French politics when he came second in the first round though he was subsequently defeated in the later round. He was recently succeeded by his daughter Marine Le Pen.



In 1987, Le Pen was fined and ordered to pay 1.2 million francs, for stating: “I ask myself several questions. I’m not saying the gas chambers didn’t exist. I haven’t seen them myself. I haven’t particularly studied the question. But I believe it’s just a detail in the history of World War II.” In 1996 whilst in Germany Le Pen stated “If you take a 1,000-page book on World War II, the concentration camps take up only two pages and the gas chambers ten to fifteen lines. This is what one calls a detail.” Having been stripped of his European parliamentary immunity Le Pen was convicted and fined. He has also been convicted for his remarks against Muslims and for assaulting a female Socialist MP during the 1997 general election. Le Pen is the godfather for one of the daughters of Dieudonné M’bala M’bala (*q.v.*), the antisemitic French comedian.

Le Pen’s former deputy, Bruno Gollnisch, who is close to Nick Griffin (*q.v.*), the leader of the BNP, has also been convicted for saying “I do not question the existence of concentration camps but historians could discuss the number of deaths. As to the existence of gas chambers, it is up to historians to speak their minds (*de se déterminer*)”. He was found guilty of “an offence of verbal contestation of the existence of crimes against humanity” for which he was fined and handed a suspended prison sentence. This was overturned upon appeal in 2009.

Fred Leuchter (USA)

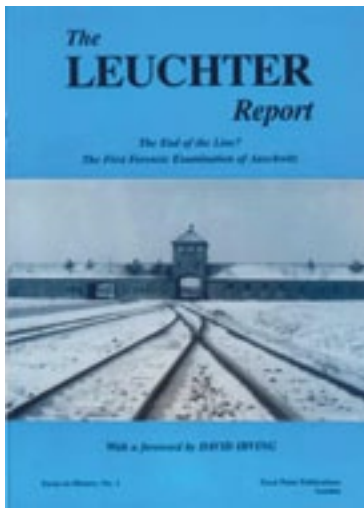
Fred A. Leuchter is an American engineer who specialised in the construction and installation of execution equipment in US prisons. During the trial of Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) he was approached by two of the other witnesses, David Irving (*q.v.*) and Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) who hoped that his “expert” testimony could help prove that the Holocaust was indeed a myth and that Zündel was therefore innocent. Faurisson flew to Boston to talk to Leuchter and, having spent two days with him, succeeded in persuading him that it was physically impossible for the Nazis to have gassed the Jews. Several days later he flew to Poland with a draftsman, interpreter, and a cameraman, supplied by Zündel, who also helpfully furnished him with \$35,000 to subsidise the trip. Leuchter also took his wife with him. His team spent several days desecrating the site by illegally obtaining what Leuchter referred to as “forensic samples” from a range of buildings associated with the Nazis’ extermination programme.



Zündel’s Samsdat Publications published the fruits of Leuchter’s labours as, *The Leuchter Report: An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenhau and Majdanek, Poland*. David Irving (*q.v.*) was so impressed by *The Leuchter Report* that his Focal Point publications reprinted it with an introduction from the man himself. It was the beginning of Irving’s ill-fated move towards overt denial. Irving

even went so far as to arrange a public meeting for Leuchter at Chelsea Town Hall in 1991 but his guest speaker was arrested, detained and deported, before he got anywhere near the platform.

Holocaust deniers the world over were cock-a-hoop, believing that Leuchter had at last scientifically debunked the Holocaust. He had done no such thing and it was not long before his “report” was comprehensively discredited – as was Leuchter’s credibility as an “expert” – which was openly called into question during the trial by the judge. As Deborah Lipstadt observed, by the end of the second trial in 1988 Leuchter was “exposed as



having virtually no educational training as an engineer, and his historical knowledge has been shown to be even more limited”.

In the aftermath of the trial his supposed reputation as America’s leading expert on the construction and installation of gas chambers – much vaunted by Holocaust deniers – were proven to be a sham. Facing prosecution for misrepresenting himself as an engineer by the state of Massachusetts Leuchter signed a consent agreement admitting that he was “not and never had been” a professional engineer and had fraudulently presented himself as such to a number of states aiming to consult on matters of “execution technology”. Despite these revelations Leuchter became something of a fixture on the Holocaust denial conference circuit. The IHR remains “proud” of its “cordial and productive association” with Leuchter who addressed their conferences in 1989, 1990 and 1992.

Christian Lindtner (Denmark)

Based in Copenhagen, Christian Lindtner is a prominent Danish Holocaust denier. Lindtner, a former lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, who specialises in philology and Buddhism and whose studies have led him to the belief that the “Christian Gospels are Pirate-copies of the Buddhist Gospels... God’s word, therefore, is originally Buddha’s word”. He is currently the head of Indian philology and religion at Cotman University, “an independent private university incorporated in Panama with students all over the world”.



Having risen to prominence in the 1990s, Lindtner, is involved with the *Dansk Selskab for Fri Historisk Forskning* (Danish Society for Free Historical Research). He was duped in 2004 by Danish journalist Kaare Quist, who posed as an out of work historian with racist attitudes, and invited by him to a small conference organised by David Irving (q.v.). The subsequent story, published in the Danish magazine *Ekstra Bladet*, infuriated Irving not least because it featured remarks attributed to Lindtner including “There are no real pictures of a gas chamber. Because they have never existed”. As a result of the poor publicity and indeed Lindtner’s own poor judgement Irving wrote that he would “no longer be welcome at our functions”.

Ostracised by Irving, though not by the wider Holocaust denial movement, Lindtner was invited to address the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in 2006. Speaking on the topic “Danish media and the Holocaust” Lindtner informed his audience that: “Today, as far as I can judge, Holocaust revisionism has reached its main objective in demonstrating that there is no valid internal or external piece of evidence for claiming that Hitler, by means of gas chambers in Auschwitz-Birkenau or elsewhere, murdered millions of Jews in cold blood. From whatever angle you look at it this claim is so absurd that it in itself becomes a most interesting problem how it can be that so many people for so long have believed in what we now safely can call the Holocaust myth”.

He was subsequently appointed to sit on its International “Holocaust” Research Committee (IHRC) Interim Committee which was set up to perpetuate the work of the conference. He has since appeared on Iranian satellite television channel Sahar TV together with Lady Renouf in which they discussed “the Western media’s propaganda war against Iran”. A DVD of the broadcast, sold by Renouf, states that the duo: “hold that the best of the West and Iran share a Classical heritage which respects Socratic scientific attitude”. Lindtner also addressed a meeting in Malmö, Sweden, with another Iranian conference delegate, the French Holocaust denier Professor Robert Faurisson (q.v.) whose speaking engagements were organised by the openly Nazi National Socialist Front (NSF) in 2007.

Norman Lowell (Malta)

The most high profile of Malta's admittedly few Holocaust deniers, Norman Lowell, is a retired banker, martial arts expert and abstract painter. Lowell runs his own Viva Malta party, a minuscule affair, as well as chairing its philosophical offshoot, Imperium Europa. To date Malta has only had four cases involving inciting racial hatred. In 2008 Lowell was jailed for two years, suspended for four years, having been found guilty of three charges of inciting racial hatred and one charge of insulting the Maltese president relating to incidents in 2003 and 2006. In 2006 Maltese police also began investigating the links between his supporters and a spate of arson attacks committed against a local Jesuit order which had been helping refugees from North Africa who Lowell attacks as "monkeys".



Lowell's book *Credo: A Book for the Very Few* (1997) attacks Jews as "international-manipulators" and has decried the Holocaust as the "holy hoax". He has also authored a second racist book, *Imperium Europa – A Book that Changed the World* (2009). Standing in the 2004 European elections he polled a mere 0.6 percent of the vote. In the 2009 elections Imperium Europa polled marginally better obtaining 1.47 percent of the vote. Lowell has cultivated a number of international contacts, contributing to *National Vanguard*, organ of the National Vanguard, a splinter from the National Alliance founded in 2005 by Kevin Strom, who was later convicted of child pornography offences in the United States. Most recently, Lowell has been involved with Troy Southgate's New Right group in Britain, and has addressed its meetings on several occasions as well as meeting with Buckinghamshire British National Party (BNP) activist Robert Dewar who holidays regularly in Malta.

Horst Mahler (Germany)

Horst Mahler is one of Germany's leading Holocaust deniers and formerly a leading figure in the openly Nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD – National Democratic Party) whose numerous statements include remarks such as “Billions of people would be ready to forgive Hitler if only he had committed the murder of the Jews” and “The destruction of the Jews is an act of reason...”



During the 1970s Mahler was involved with and imprisoned for his activities on behalf of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF – Red Army Faction), Germany's most prominent leftist terrorist group, which killed over thirty people. Born in 1936 Mahler had previously gained a reputation as a radical left-wing lawyer, acting for a host of radical left-wing students when he came to represent Andreas Baader as well as other leading figures in the Baader-Meinhof gang out of which the RAF evolved. In 1970 Mahler helped Baader escape from prison, participating thereafter in a string of bank robberies with the group. Mahler subsequently fled with Baader and several others to Jordan where they were trained in guerrilla tactics by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Upon his return he was arrested and sentenced to fourteen years in prison. His license to practice law was revoked. He served ten years and returned to practising law in 1988. Helping him get back his licence to practice as a lawyer was the later Federal Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder. Mahler had had a friendly relationship with him since 1978 when Schröder was his lawyer.

Having drifted rightwards, embracing *völkish* racial ideas, he joined the NPD in 2000. For a time he became the party's legal representative. He left the party in 2003. On 9 November 2003 he was involved in the foundation of a new venture, the *Verein zur Rehabilitierung der wegen Bestreitens des Holocaust Verfolgten* (VRBHV – Society for the Rehabilitation of Those persecuted for Refutation of the Holocaust), in Vlotho, Germany together with Bernhard Schaub (*q.v.*) and Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel who ran the Collegium Humanum. The goals of the society, wrote Mahler, were “to eliminate the isolation of the persecuted which has dominated so far, is to guarantee the necessary public awareness of their struggle for justice, and is to provide the financial means for a successful judicial struggle”. Mahler is a key figure in the growing scene of so-called “Reichsbürger”, who deny the existence of the “Bundesrepublik Deutschland” and insist that the “Deutsche Reich” did not disappear in 1945.

Mahler has been imprisoned for his activities on a number of occasions.

In February 2009 he was sentenced to six years, without the possibility of early release and, the following month, received an additional five year sentence for Holocaust denial and the banalisation of Nazi war crimes. He is currently appealing the sentences. Mahler had been unable to attend the Iranian Holocaust denial conference after the German authorities stripped him of his passport.

Carlo Mattogno (Italy)

Carlo Mattogno is Italy's leading Holocaust denier, whose "speciality" is "textual analysis" and whose research is regarded within the international Holocaust denial movement as more sophisticated than that of other deniers. Born in Orvieto, Italy, in 1951, Mattogno has authored several works denying the Holocaust including



The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews (1985) and *The Gerstein Report – Anatomy of a Fraud* (1985), the latter being an attempt to refute the testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, a witness to the gassing of Jews in Belzec and Treblinka; a campaign continued by French Holocaust denier Henri Roques, author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (1989).

Mattogno has collaborated with Swiss-born Holocaust denier Jürgen Graf (q.v.) to produce three publications, *Concentration Camp Majdanek: A Historical and Technical Study* (1998), *Concentration Camp Stutthof: Its Place in National Socialist Jewish Policy* (1999) and *Treblinka: Transit Camp or Extermination Camp* (2004), all of which seek to revitalise the Holocaust. Both books were published as part of its "Holocaust Handbooks" series by Castle Hill Publishers, the Holocaust denial publishing house run at arm's length from Hastings by the German Holocaust denier Germar Rudolf (q.v.) who has published many of Mattogno's other works. He has also recently published a further book attempting to refute the fact of the gas chambers at Auschwitz entitled, *Le camere a gas di Auschwitz. Studio storico-tecnico sugli 'indizi criminali' di Jean-Claude Pressac e sulla 'convergenza di prove' di Robert Jan van Pelt* (*The Gas Chambers at Auschwitz. Historical and Technical study of Jean-Claude Pressac's 'criminal traces' and Robert Jan van Pelt's 'convergence of evidence'*).

In Europe Mattogno has contributed to the journals like *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste* published between 1987 and 1990 by La Vieille Taupe with which Robert Faurisson (q.v.) was closely associated. In North America from 1988 to 2002 Mattogno served on the editorial advisory committee of the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) contributing regularly to its journal. He currently serves as an "editorial advisor" to the Holocaust denial journal and website *Inconvenient History* published by "History Behind Bars" which "seeks to revive the true spirit of the historical revisionist movement".

Mattogno has recently supported Bishop Richard Williamson (q.v.) who came out as an outright Holocaust denier in 2007.

Dieudonné M'bala M'bala (France)



Dieudonné M'bala M'bala is a notorious French antisemitic “comedian” and “anti-Zionist” political activist. Born in 1966 to Cameroonian and Breton parents, Dieudonné was originally on the left of the political spectrum, standing against Front National (FN) luminary Marie-France Stirbois in 1997. In recent years, however, he has moved towards the antisemitic fringe of French politics, a development which has seen him become increasingly marginal culturally and increasingly shrill in his antisemitism, denying the Holocaust, blaming Jews for the slave trade and more generally for the oppression of the Black and Arab peoples. Prior to descending into the antisemitic gutter, Dieudonné had enjoyed a career as one-half of a successful comedy double act with Jewish comedian Elie Semoun. Their shows were sell outs. Dieudonné also starred in movies, perhaps most notably for British audiences, in *Asterix and Obelix: Mission Cleopatra* (2002).

Pursuing a solo career on stage, his one man shows have been noted for their degeneration into antisemitic vitriol, leading to intense controversy and a string of prosecutions and fines for Dieudonné. Perhaps his most infamous antisemitic provocation came in 2008 when veteran French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) was given a “heroism” award presented by one of Dieudonné’s assistant’s assistants dressed as a concentration camp inmate replete with yellow star. Faurisson and Dieudonné subsequently appeared together in a video mocking the Holocaust, the commemoration of which Dieudonné denounces as “memorial pornography”.

Dieudonné also allowed the theatre he owns in Paris’ eleventh arrondissement to be used by both FN activists and the now defunct Tribu Ka, an antisemitic Black Nationalist group, whose members marched through a Jewish neighbourhood in Paris in 2006 chanting death to the Jews. The group was subsequently banned and its leader, Stello Capo Chichi, imprisoned. Capo Chichi acquired further notoriety during the trial of the antisemitic killers of Ilan Halimi, a young French Jew who was kidnapped and tortured to death, when he sent threatening e-mails to a range of Jewish organisations. Dieudonné used the murder as material for his comedy show.

Dieudonné’s plans to stand in the 2007 French presidential elections faltered and failed before the poll but had French Holocaust denier Serge Thion (*q.v.*) writing for his website under a pseudonym. Undeterred, Dieudonné stood in the Paris region in the 2009 European elections for the “*Parti antisioniste*”, an offshoot of the pro-Iranian Shia movement

Centre Zahra, led by Yahia Gouasmi and supported by former FN activist Alain Soral. Gouasmi was also on the party's slate which polled poorly. Dieudonné enjoys a close relationship with Jean Marie Le Pen (*q.v.*), leader of the FN who is the godfather to his third child. In January 2010 another of Dieudonné's children was baptized by Bishop Richard Williamson (*q.v.*).

Recently, Dieudonné has followed the well trodden path of a host of Western Holocaust deniers and travelled to Iran, meeting with *President Mohammed Ahmadinejad*. Dieudonné *subsequently hailed* Iran as “a place where anti-Zionists [*sic*] can meet and communicate and develop”. To help him on his way the Iranian government gave him a “sizable grant” to finance his “cultural struggle against Zionism”.

Konstantinos Plevris (Greece)

Plevris is Greece's most prominent Holocaust denier, convicted in 2007 and sentenced to fourteen months in prison (suspended) as a result of his 1,400 page book, *Jews – The Whole Truth* (2006) in which he had written: "To begin with, I declare that I am a Nazi, a fascist, a racist, an anti-democrat, an anti-Semite" Of the Jews he had argued: "My book, which you are now reading, is simple proof that we don't count on the Jews. We despise them for their morality, for their religion, for their deeds, which all prove that they are sub-humans..." He had also written, "That's what the Jews deserve. For it's the only way they understand: firing squad within 24 hours..." The book also denied the Holocaust, urging readers to "Get rid of the Jewish propaganda that deceives you with concentration camps, gas chambers, 'ovens' and other fairytales of the pseudo-holocaust... [sic]". It also criticized Hitler stating that "afterwards, history of humankind will accuse him (Hitler) of having done nothing to rid Europe of the Jews, though he could."



In 2009 the verdict was overturned by the court of appeal. The decision provoked outrage. After his trial Plevris re-affirmed his beliefs during the course of an interview with Willis Carto's (*q.v.*) journal, *The Barnes Review*, stating: "I don't believe in the 'holocaust.' Of course many Jews died during WWII, but there is no proof the Germans planned to exterminate them".

Such views go back to at least 1968 when Plevris published a book entitled *The Myth* which was translated into German and Arabic, though most of his work is only available in Greek. Plevris is a prolific author and has written numerous racist, antisemitic and homophobic books and articles. He founded the The Fourth of August group, the name commemorating the anniversary date of the Metexas regime which was established in 1936. Plevris was a councillor for the 1967-1974 military junta. He has worked with a range of extreme Italian fascist parties such as the late Pino Rauti's *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order), which committed numerous acts of violence and terror. In 2004 he stood for the extremist *Laikós Orthódoxos Synagermós* (LAOS – Popular Orthodox Rally). He also edited, published and wrote for *Elefteros Kosmos* (*Free World*), an extreme right-wing journal with small circulation in Greece.

Roland Raes (Belgium)

Until March 2001, Roland Raes was the vice president of the now banned Vlaams Blok (VB), which was founded by far right Flemish nationalists in 1979. Raes was forced to resign both his party post and his senate seat after he publicly questioned “certain aspects” of the Holocaust and expressed “doubts” about the authenticity of the 4 in an interview broadcast on Dutch television in February 2001.



The VB president at that time, Frank Vanhecke, later tried to claim that Raes' resignation was evidence of the party's “discipline and self control” but conspicuously failed to condemn the content of Raes' remarks preferring instead to criticise his “bad timing” and “strategic mistakes”. Despite the implosion of his political career within the VB he was allowed to keep his job as an administrator at the University of Ghent. He was replaced in the Belgian Parliament by Yves Buysse, Vanhecke's personal secretary.

Raes' views were hardly a surprise. In the 1970s he had edited the “revisionist” journal *Haro* with noted Holocaust denier Siegfried Verbeke (*q.v.*) and, as a VB senator, had strongly opposed laws to make Holocaust denial illegal. He had also been the ideologist and former vice-president of *Were Di*, (old Dutch for “defend yourself”), a radical Flemish nationalist think tank. In 1973 Raes became the deputy leader of the *Nederlandse Volksunie* (NV) but later left with the faction that founded *Voorpost* in 1976 of which he became the first president, prior to becoming a founding member of the VB in 1979.

In 2009, he was jailed for 4 months and fined a total of €2,000, payable to two Belgian anti-racist and human rights' organisations, as a result of the remarks he had made on Dutch television in 2001. Raes had been charged shortly after the broadcast and the case had rumbled on until 2006 when it was finally dropped. The prosecution was resumed shortly afterwards, however, following an appeal from the Forum of Jewish Organisations. Despite his conviction, which he immediately appealed, Raes remained intimately involved with the VB, sitting on its executive and playing a prominent role in its Lovendegem branch, not to mention working as a volunteer at the party headquarters in Brussels (despite the party claiming it had no place for Holocaust deniers and Nazis). The Belgian Court of Appeal confirmed the 2009 conviction on 15 September 2010. On the 11 January 2011, the VB confirmed that Raes would not be expelled from the party.

Ahmed Rami (Sweden)

A key Holocaust denier among Muslim extremists is Ahmed Rami, born 1946, a former Moroccan army officer who fled his native country after joining a failed coup attempt against King Hassan in 1972.

Rami runs Radio Islam, a Stockholm-based nazi propaganda vehicle. In addition to articles such as “USA’s Rulers: They are all Jews,” Radio Islam’s website carries the full text of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (in a number of languages), one of the most scurrilous antisemitic forgeries in modern history. It was during the late 1980s that Rami began publicly to deny the Holocaust and to disseminate anti-Jewish propaganda in Sweden.

In October 1990, a Swedish court convicted Rami and Radio Islam – at the time a radio station) – for incitement of hatred against Jews, sentencing him to six months in prison and shutting down Radio Islam. Two years later, Rami was a featured speaker at the annual conference of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), the leading Holocaust-denying organisation in the United States.

Radio Islam was off the air from 1993 to 1995, but returned in 1996 under Rami’s personal direction, the same year that he established the Radio Islam website. He campaigned for the acquittal of the late Roger Garaudy after his conviction for Holocaust denial in 1998. Rami was then again prosecuted in Sweden on charges of inciting racial hatred, and again convicted and fined in October 2000.

Radio Islam continues to maintain its web presence from servers in the United States. Though it no longer makes audio broadcasts, its site features an extensive collection of Holocaust-denial and other antisemitic documents. Rami, along with certain Arab governments and groups, has used David Irving’s and the IHR’s materials as so called anti-Zionist” propaganda.

Rami maintains good relations with nazis and other far-right extremists. At a lecture in 2004, he claimed that “it is the duty of every Swede to strive for a Swedish Sweden”. Rami has previously wished for “a new Hitler”. In 2009, he stated in an interview: “I regard Hitler’s movement as an intifada against the Jewish power in Germany. Hitler conducted a resistance struggle in the same way as the Palestinians in our time. It is the same struggle.”



Vincent Reynouard (France)

Vincent Reynouard is a prominent French Holocaust denier, living in Belgium. Born in Normandy in 1969, Reynouard graduated from university with a degree in chemical engineering but was fired from his post as a maths teacher after Holocaust denial material were discovered on the hard drive of his computer. He originally published a “revisionist” magazine called *Nouvelle Vision* (*New Vision*) but now has a new publication called *Sans Concession* (“Without Concessions”). In the 1990s, he was close to the nazi Parti Nationaliste Français et Européen (PNFE).



Reynouard has been prosecuted on a number of occasions, starting in October 1992 when he was imprisoned for one month and fined 5000 francs as a result of mailing a group of secondary school pupils an anonymous letter disputing the gas chambers. He was imprisoned again, this time for two years, in June 2004 for distributing a VHS cassette in which he approved of the Nazi massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane, although this conviction was later overturned. On 8 November 2007, he was sentenced to one year in prison and fined €10,000 for “contesting crimes against humanity” by writing and distributing a 16-page brochure entitled *The Holocaust: What They Hide from You* which argued that, what deaths there were, resulted not from Nazi criminality but because of Allied aerial bombardment which stopped the Nazis from adequately provisioning the camps and caring for their inmates. Reynouard sent copies, unsolicited, to tourism offices, town halls and museums. His appeal was dismissed on June 25, 2008 and his fine was raised to €60,000, including a mandatory €20,000. “Severity as never seen before,” whined his supporters.

Having previously re-located to Brussels, Belgium, from where he oversaw the French-language operations of Siegfried Verbeke, Reynouard was found guilty on 19 June 2008, with Verbeke, of disputing “crimes against humanity”. A Belgian court jailed both men for a year as well as fining them €25,000 each. The rationale underpinning Reynouard’s “revisionism” is a naked desire to rehabilitate the Third Reich of which he writes: “In the 20th century, National Socialist Germany embodied – doubtless imperfectly but successfully all the same – the very last attempt to return to a well-ordered society, that is, a society respecting the natural order... Hitler embodied the hope of Europe in the face of the ruinous ideals of 1789; yes, we must take up the best of what National Socialism comprised in order finally to surpass it and forge a doctrine that will be able to save our Old Continent”.

Reynouard, while he was in Brussels, lived at a place of worship set up by a sectarian breakaway group of the Saint Pius X Society. He is a Catholic fundamentalist who belongs to the Sedevacantist sect. On his release from jail, he began writing a column in the French fascist weekly *Rivarol*. However, when the news emerged that he had left his wife of many years and their seven children in a state of dire poverty after leaving their common home, he was soon ostracised by the fascist milieu.

Henri Roques (France)

Henri Roques is a French Holocaust denier famous for his doctoral dissertation which implicitly denying the Holocaust (his doctorate was later revoked).



Born in 1920, Roques was an agricultural engineer who was secretary general of the antisemitic and neo-nazi Phalange Française in the 1950s. During the late 1970s Roques, a protégé of Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) became obsessed with discrediting the testimony of former SS officer Kurt Gerstein, who had been head of the SS Technical Disinfection Department, charged with improving the efficiency of the gas chambers. Horrified, Gerstein passed information to the Allies including reports on the Nazi extermination of the Jews at Belzec and Treblinka before his death in a French prison in 1945. Gerstein's testimony, certainly exaggerated in places, was seen as a major obstacle to denying the Holocaust and Roques was determined to discredit him.

To do so Roques enrolled for a doctorate at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, transferring shortly afterwards to the University of Nantes where his supervisor, Jean-Claude Rivière, was an obscure medieval historian and a former member of Europe-action and the New Right thinktank GRECE. Roques doctorate concluded, unsurprisingly, that Gerstein's testimony was without value and that he could not possibly have witnessed the gassing of Jews as he maintained he had. Roques accused Gerstein of being a "master magician" who had created an illusion that was subsequently accepted as fact.

The award of his doctorate caused a minor furore that extended far beyond the confines of French academia. At the behest of the French Minister of Education the University of Nantes was forced to first investigate and then annul the award in January 1986 having been alerted to a number of serious irregularities related to it. Their decision was upheld in 1992. Unperturbed, Roques dissertation was subsequently published as *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (1989) as well as publishing an extended version entitled *Quand Alain Decaux raconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* (*Alain Decaux Recounts the History of SS Kurt Gerstein*) which was written with the help of Vincent Reynouard (*q.v.*).

Roques was associated with the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) and was appointed to its editorial board in 1990. The IHR subsequently retailed his discredited works through its mail order operation. Roques' wife was a local councillor in a Paris suburb, first as a member of the Front National and, later, of Bruno Mégret's National Republican Movement (MNR).

Germar Rudolf (Germany)

Born in 1964, Germar Rudolf is a prolific publisher of Holocaust denial material. A former chemist at the Max Planck Institute for Solid State Research in Stuttgart, Germany, Rudolf, who had been active on the far right since at least 1986, was sacked from his job in 1993 following the publication of the *Rudolf-Gutachten (Rudolf Report)*, a pseudo-scientific booklet which denied the gassing of the Jews. The publication brought Rudolf international notoriety in the mid-1990s. It was published in various languages, including Flemish, and was published by Siegfried Verbeke (*q.v.*) with whose VHO outfit Rudolf was closely associated. It also brought him to the attention of the German authorities who prosecuted him for Holocaust denial.



Sentenced to fourteen months' imprisonment Rudolf fled Germany in 1996. He headed first to Spain where he stayed with Nazi stalwart Otto-Ernst Remer until 1996 when Pedro Varela (*q.v.*) helped him move onto Britain to escape the German authorities who were tightening the net. In Britain he visited Nick Griffin (*q.v.*) and David Irving (*q.v.*) as well as setting up Castle Hill Publishers (CHP). Rudolf worked closely with the late Anthony Hancock, the Brighton-based fascist printer who ran the Historical Review Press (HRP) which distributed many of Rudolf's works in Britain.

Rudolf subsequently moved to the United States and in 2000 established an American outlet for his writings entitled "Theses and Dissertations Press" which operated in conjunction with The Barnes Review, run by Willis Carto (*q.v.*), until 2005. Rudolf's activities were then continued under the banner "Holocaust Handbooks". Under his own name and the pseudonym "Ernest Gauss" Rudolf has authored hundreds of articles and booklets denying the Holocaust. Having unsuccessfully attempted to claim political asylum, Rudolf was deported to Germany to serve his sentence in 2005 after a decade on the run. In 2007 he was sentenced to two-and-a-half years for Holocaust denial. He was released in 2009.

Rudolf's star has since been on the wane. In 2008 CHP published *Auschwitz forensisch untersucht*, which was merely a reprint of the *Rudolf Report* "indicating the difficult financial and staffing situation at the publishing company". 2008 also saw the discontinuation of Rudolf's quarterly Holocaust denial journal, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (Vffg – *Quarterly journal for independent historical research*) which he had founded in 1997 as the only German-language publication set up with the sole purpose of denying the Holocaust.

Herbert Schaller (Austria)

Dr Herbert Schaller, born 1922, is an Austrian lawyer who has defended some of Europe's most infamous Holocaust deniers and nazi activists in court. His roster of clients over the years has included David Irving (*q.v.*), alleged nazi letter-bomber Franz Radl, the Holocaust deniers Gerd Honsik (*q.v.*), Wolfgang Fröhlich (*q.v.*) and Pedro Varela (*q.v.*), the SS Major-General Otto-Ernst Remer and the German nazi cadre Erhard Kemper. Schaller, who is now in his eighties, was allegedly associated during the 1990s with the violent Austrian *Nationalistische Front* (NF – National Front). Most recently, in 2010, he was outside Mannheim prison in Germany to welcome Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) upon his release. Schaller had served on his ill-fated defence team but failed to stop his client being sent to prison. Paying testimony to the services he has rendered the Holocaust denial community, Irving, whom Schaller represented in Austria in 2005, referred to him as a “battle hardened lawyer”.



When another former client, Gerd Honsik, was unable to attend the Holocaust denial conference in Iran in December 2006, because his passport was invalid, Schaller took his place. Schaller addressed the conference on the topic: “Report on the Criminal Law Aspects of the Holocaust Problem”. He opened his talk by praising the Iranian president for having “dealt a severe blow to the worldwide cartel that forbids any attempt to provide evidence questioning the Holocaust”. The remainder consisted of an attack, particularly on German and Austrian courts, for refusing to admit evidence that denied the Holocaust on the grounds that the “obviousness” (*Offenkundigkeit*) of the Holocaust was beyond dispute. This meant that he and his clients were on a hiding to nothing when it came to trying to get the courts to take seriously their pseudo-scientific research. “In Germany every year c. 10,000 people are prosecuted and persecuted for holocaust denial,” Schaller claimed in what can only be regarded as an unbelievable exaggeration of the facts.

“At this Conference in Teheran, it has been publicly established that there are no proofs (sic) for the existence of homicidal gas chambers,” Schaller concluded.

Bernhard Schaub (Switzerland)

Schaub who was born in Bern, Switzerland in 1954 was a school teacher until he was fired in 1993 following the publication of his book, *Adler und Rose: Wesen und Schicksal des deutschsprachigen Mitteleuropa* (1992), which denied the gassing of the Jews. Since then he has worked as “an independent teacher of adult education courses”.



He was sacked again in 1999 as a result of a speech he gave in Germany entitled “Europa ist die Heimat der weißen Rasse” – “Europe is the home of the white race”). He was a leading member of the *Partei National Orientierter Schwizer* (PNOS) until 2004 as well as being the founder of the movement *Nationale Ausserparlamentarische Opposition* (NAPO, 2002-2004). He has recently founded a new initiative: *Europäische Aktion*. As well as being active with far right groups in Switzerland Schaub is also active on the Holocaust denial scene in Germany.

Schaub has been involved in a range of initiatives to promote Holocaust denial, most recently as a leader of the *Verein zur Rehabilitierung der wegen Bestreitens des Holocaust Verfolgten* (VRBHV – ‘Society for the rehabilitation of those persecuted for refutation of the Holocaust’) founded on 9 November 2003 by himself, Arnold Höfs and Ursula Haverbeck, the widow of a former Nazi official. Horst Mahler (q.v.) and Sylvia Stolz acted as its legal representatives until their own imprisonment. The VRBHV brought together an array of Holocaust deniers, antisemites and Nazis, using their gatherings to provide political training and planning as well as providing a focal point for demonstrations aimed at raising public awareness into the nature of the “false myths” they are taught. Schaub has also contributed to the *Journal of Historical Review*, organ of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR).

Schaub attended the 2006 Holocaust denial conference in Tehran and was subsequently co-opted onto its International “Holocaust” Research Committee (IHRC) Interim Committee, which was set up to perpetuate the conference’s work. In his speech, Schaub, who emphasised the “spiritual and cultural connection” between Persian and German culture, attacked “the Lie of six million gassed Jews” that, he argued, provided the “moral basis for the expulsion of the Palestinians out of their homes and which has been used to justify the creation of the state of Israel”. Regarding Iran’s hosting of the conference as a “gift from God” Schaub stated:

“We European strugglers for Right and Truth here want to call out to the Islamic realm: We have the same enemy! It is the corrupter of humanity who with the help from his American battle-elephant desires to subject the entire world to Jewish capital, and who desires to destroy all sovereign nations, cultures and religions until nothing is left but a faceless mass of spiritually and mentally inferior slave workers, there to toil for Zion”.

Simon Sheppard (Britain)

Simon Sheppard, a former Hull BNP organiser, is one of Britain's most noxious Holocaust deniers. Imprisoned in 1995 in the Netherlands for Holocaust denial and again in 1999 for distributing antisemitic material in Hull, where he was the BNP organiser at the time, Sheppard devoted his attentions thereafter to acting as a front man for the internet operations for a range of extremist groups, hosting websites for numerous groups, including Redwatch. He also directed his own website called "Heretical.com" which was filled not only with Holocaust denial material but with a welter of racist and misogynistic articles as well as others indicating a fascination with cannibalism. He was aided in this endeavour by Stephen Whittle who wrote for the website using the pen name "Luke O'Farrell".



The police raided Sheppard's house in 2005 and again in 2006. In 2008 he was arrested and charged with using his website to circulate material "likely to incite racial hatred". Sheppard had hosted his website in the United States and had assumed that he was therefore immune from prosecution. This was not the case. In a landmark ruling he was found guilty of nine counts of publishing racially inflammatory material (Whittle was found guilty of four counts). The police investigation appears to have been reactivated following the mailing of *Tales of the Holohoax* to the Blackpool Reform synagogue which was then traced back to a PO Box registered to Sheppard. However, rather than face the music the pair fled to the United States where they tried to claim political asylum.

Imprisoned in Santa Ana jail in California whilst awaiting the outcome of their claim for asylum, the two men were represented by Bruce Leichy, an immigration attorney who represented infamous Holocaust denier Ernest Zündel (*q.v.*) having known his wife Ingrid for many years. Prior to being returned to England, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) retried Sheppard and Whittle in absentia on the counts on which the jury did not reach verdicts. He was found guilty of a further five counts, making sixteen in all. Upon their return to England Sheppard was jailed for four years and ten months. Whittle was jailed for two years and four months. Both men won a slight reduction in their sentences upon appeal.

A legal defence fund was organised for the duo by Paul Ballard, a former BNP member who had been Nick Griffin's co-defendant in 1998 in his own prosecution for inciting racial hatred.

Bradley R. Smith (USA)

Bradley Smith, who lives in New Mexico, is the founder of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) which was in its heyday one of the principal vehicles for Holocaust denial. Smith is perhaps most famous for his attempt to take Holocaust denial to the university campus. “I don’t want to spend time with adults anymore.



I want to go to students. They are superficial. They are empty vessels to be filled,” he once stated. The strategy pursued by CODOH, which famously took out newspaper adverts in student newspapers aimed at popularising “revisionism” was, “to set forth three or four ideas that students might be interested in, that might cause them to think about [the Holocaust] or to have questions about [the Holocaust]. And I wanted to make it as simple as possible, and to set it up in a way that could not really be debated.” His “Campus Project” brought him widespread notoriety.

Smith founded CODOH in 1987 with Mark Weber (*q.v.*), one of the principal figures in the Institute of Historical Review (IHR), who acted as Smith’s co-director. He had previously been an activist in the openly national socialist National Alliance run by the late Dr. William Pierce. CODOH was financed initially by William Curry, a Nebraska businessman now deceased. Smith had become involved with the IHR in 1984 in the aftermath of its headquarters being burned to the ground in an arson attack. Smith contacted the group and offered to do “outreach” for them leading to the publication of newsletter entitled *Prima Facie*, though it was discontinued after seven months due to lack of interest. One group that was interested was the British National Party (BNP) which reprinted articles from *Prima Facie* in *Spearhead*, its then house-journal. Smith is the author of a number of books including, most recently, *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*. He continues to maintain the CODOH website and its attendant forums and to publish *Smith’s Report* as well as writing a blog.

Georges Theil (France)



In 2002 Theil, a former Front National (FN) councillor for the Rhône-Alpes region, issued a short autobiography detailing his embrace of Holocaust denial entitled *Un Cas D'Insoumission – Comment on devient révisionniste* written under the pseudonym “Gilbert Dubreuil”.

Featuring an introduction by Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) the book was subsequently published under his own name in English with the “catchier” title, *Heresy in Twenty-First Century France: A Case of insubmission to the ‘Holocaust’ dogma*. It is distributed by Anthony Hancock, the Sussex-based fascist printer who runs the Historical Review Press (HRP). The book led to Theil’s prosecution for Holocaust denial as it contravened French laws criminalizing Holocaust denial. Prosecuted in Limoges and Lyon in 2005 and 2006, Theil was handed a six month prison sentence. He appealed but the sentence was reconfirmed by the courts in January 2008. He had previously been convicted of similar offences in 2000.

Born in 1940 Theil was three years old when his father, who had joined the French resistance, was arrested in 1943 and executed four days later by “external elements”; quite possibly the Milice, the French paramilitary group that actively collaborated with the Nazis. Seeking to understand “for *whom* and for *what*” his father and indeed his grandfather who perished in the First World War had died, Theil observed that “when you ask yourself that last question the role of the Jews appears very quickly”.

Thereafter Theil became a vociferous antisemite and Holocaust denier. “You see that the existence and the nature of the role of European Jews cannot be ignored as soon as one looks into the great conflicts of the 20th century, which I call “the century of the attempt to put Germany to death” he told fellow Holocaust denier Bradley R. Smith (*q.v.*). His “education was further stimulated by reading the works of Henri Roques (*q.v.*) which left no further room in his mind about the existence of the “alleged ‘gas chambers’”.

Theil attended the Iranian Holocaust denial conference held in Tehran in December 2006, giving a talk entitled “Our Mission: To Disrupt the global slander and help build a more honest world” which attacked the “gigantic lie of the alleged *Shoah*” as “the greatest slander in all of human history, imposed first of all on the West, then by osmosis, from the fact of a progressive ‘globalisation’, on the whole of the world, and most particularly the Moslem world”.

Serge Thion (France)

French “leftist” Serge Thion is a respected academic authority on Far Eastern affairs who has played an important role in helping to turn denial into a legitimate viewpoint in France. Born in 1942, Thion graduated with a PhD in sociology from the Sorbonne in 1967. His revised doctoral thesis on South African apartheid was subsequently published as *Le pouvoir pâle, ou le racisme sud-africain* (1969). Thion claims that he “got in touch” with politics through his opposition to the French war in Algeria in the 1960s and thereafter became involved with the politics of anti-colonialism.



He taught for several years in Indo-China before returning to France in 1971 to work at the prestigious *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) where he lectured on Cambodian, Vietnamese and African affairs. It was apparently Thion who, attending a conference on Cambodia held in Paris in 1979, put Pierre Guillaume, Robert Faurisson’s (q.v.) leftist publisher, in touch with the respected libertarian author Noam Chomsky, after which the latter signed the petition affirming Faurisson’s right to free speech, creating a controversy which continues to reverberate.

Thion collaborated with Faurisson on *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (1980) the methodology of which was perhaps underpinned by the assertion that “once one is prepared to imagine the situation of those defeated men, gambling with their own lives between the hands of their jailers, a paltry game in which truths and lies are the basic tokens in a tactic of survival, one will not be prepared to accept all their declarations as valid currency”. Like Faurisson, Thion has been associated with the notorious Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in California. He has contributed to its mouthpiece, *The Journal for Historical Review*, most notably in an attack on Jean-Claude Pressac, a former Faurisson follower who renounced his views in 1994; reprinted in Germar Rudolf’s (q.v.) pamphlet, *Auschwitz: Plain Facts – A Response to Jean-Claude Pressac* (2005).

Thion was fired from his position at CNRS in November 2000 as a result of remarks denying the Holocaust. Arguing that the foundation of the state of Israel is a colonialist crime Thion has described the Holocaust as a “religion” that was “pushed by Zionists to attract capital, as well as political and military protection”. His presence at the Iranian Holocaust denial conference in 2006 was perfectly in keeping with his “anti-Zionism”. Thion was subsequently appointed to the steering committee of the International “Holocaust” Research Committee (IHRC) Interim Committee, set up to perpetuate the work of the conference. He later sat on the board

of the *Mouvement des damnés de l'Impérialisme* (MDI), a short-lived “red-brown” alliance of anti-Semites. He has also signed several petitions initiated from the Italian Campo Anti-Imperialista, which attempts to gather radical Left and radical Right intellectuals together on an anti-Zionist stand.

Gerald Fredrick Töben (Australia)

Born in Germany, Gerald Töben is probably Australia's most famous Holocaust denier as a result of the organisation he runs called the Adelaide Institute. Töben studied at a number of universities, gaining an MA in education which enabled him to work as a school teacher in Victoria until 1985 when he was dismissed "on the grounds of incompetence and disobedience". Töben founded the Adelaide Institute in 1994 which operated out of his home in Melbourne. He was arrested in 1999 whilst visiting Germany and charged with inciting racial hatred. Having spent seven months in Mannheim prison he returned to Australia, continuing his activities. He has spent time in Iran following his imprisonment and returned in 2006 to address the state-sponsored Holocaust denial there. He has extensive contacts with Holocaust deniers the world over and was long involved with the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) in the United States. In 2003 he was ordered by a court to take down a number of antisemitic articles from his website which "vilified Jewish people". He failed to do so.



In 2008 Töben was arrested on a European arrest warrant issued by Germany and taken off a plane at Heathrow airport, London. However, following the intervention of Lady Michele Renouf, who employed a legal team to act on his behalf, Töben successfully contested his deportation to Germany where he would almost certainly have faced another term of imprisonment. It was not all good news for Töben, however. Upon his release he returned to Australia where in 2009 he was imprisoned for three months for contempt of court having failed to remove those antisemitic articles from his Adelaide Institute website as he had been ordered to do by the court in 2003.

Pedro Varela (Spain)

During the 1980s Pedro Varela Geiss took control of *Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa* (CEDADE – Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe), a quasi-cultural group founded in 1966, which shortly afterwards morphed into an important international hub for distributing Holocaust denial and pro-Nazi material throughout the world in a range of languages. Key early members of the group (which called for Europe to be “purged of inferior races”) included top Nazi exiles Otto Skorzeny and Leon Degrelle. Varela led the march organized in Madrid in 1989 by CEDADE to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Hitler. The organisation folded in 1993.



Since the demise of CEDADE Varela has used his bookshop in Barcelona to continue disseminating Holocaust denial material on a grand scale. In 1995 Spain passed a law outlawing Holocaust denial, which came into effect in May 1996. Varela became the first person in Spain to be prosecuted under the act and was jailed for five years and fined 720,000 pesetas in 1998. The police had seized 20,000 books when they raided his shop, many bought wholesale from the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) in California. Varela was freed on appeal on the grounds that the law criminalising Holocaust denial might have violated Spain's constitutional guarantee of free speech. His bookshop, which served as perhaps the largest distribution centre for Spanish-language books and videos glorifying Nazism, was smashed up and its stock largely destroyed by anti-fascists in January 1999.

In November 2007 Varela organised a Spanish speaking tour for David Duke (*q.v.*) to promote *Supremacismo Judío*, the Spanish-language edition of his antisemitic tome *Jewish Supremacism*. Duke describes Varela as a “great patriot” and his “close friend”. It ended in disorder as anti-fascists attacked the meeting. Varela's *Librería Europa* bookshop has continued to serve as a meeting point for Holocaust deniers from across Europe including the infamous Holocaust denier and convicted terrorist Manfred Roeder. Britain's David Irving (*q.v.*), Michèle Renouf and Richard Edmonds (*q.v.*) have all spoken at events organised by Varela. Varela and his bookshop also gave succour to Holocaust deniers fleeing justice in their own countries including Gerd Honsik (*q.v.*), the late Major-General Otto Ernst Remer and Germar Rudolf (*q.v.*), helping the latter escape to England as the police dragnet closed in. In March 2010 Varela was sentenced to two years and nine months in prison on account of his Holocaust denial activities.

In mid-November 2012, Varela participated in a rally in Madrid titled “Days of Dissent”, an event promoted by the Emboscadura Study Circle, an organisation linked with the nazi Republican Social Movement, together other revisionists like Ramon Bau, Lady Michèle Renouf, Bernhard Schaub and a speaker from the Greek hardcore nazi Golden Dawn organisation.

Siegfried Verbeke (Belgium)

Siegfried Verbeke, who was born in 1944, emerged as a significant figure on the Flemish far right when, together with Roland Raes (*q.v.*) he published the “revisionist” magazine *Haro*. Both men were active in the now banned Vlaams Blok (VB), whilst from 1973 to 1978 Verbeke was active in the Flemish far right paramilitary group the *Vlaamse Militanten Orde* (VMO – Flemish Militant Order), which was also banned by the Belgian authorities in the early eighties. In 1983 Verbeke founded the *Vrij Historisch Onderzoek* (VHO – Free Historical Research Centre) in Antwerp whose activities led to his imprisonment for one year (two decades later) and the loss of his civil rights for a further ten years. With the closure of the VHO Verbeke concentrated his energies upon distributing Holocaust denial materials to neighbouring Holland and Germany. The authorities in both countries attempted to gain legal redress against him without conspicuous success.



Verbeke's VHO worked closely with Germar Rudolf (*q.v.*) with whom in 1997 the VHO extended their activities onto the Internet. He translated his *Rudolf Dossier* into Dutch whilst also acting as the printer for material emanating from Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*). Verbeke has co-operated with Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) in producing *The 'Diary' of Anne Frank: A Critical Edition* (1991). He also collaborates with another French Holocaust denier Vincent Reyoudard (*q.v.*) who ran *Vision Historique Objective*, a carbon copy of Verbeke's VHO. On 17 June 2008 Verbeke and Reyoudard were fined €25,500 each by a Belgian court for distributing “revisionist” material. That year Verbeke was forced to discontinue the activities of the VHO but registered a “task force” called the Uncensored History Publishers which was located at the British address of the Castle Hill Publishers (CHP), operated by Rudolf, himself then serving a prison sentence in Germany.

Active as a major distributor of Holocaust denial material for over thirty years, Verbeke has a long record of racially-inspired criminal convictions. In 1996 a Dutch court gave him a suspended sentence, and a fine, for his activities which included sending copious quantities of literature denying the gassing of the Jews to schools, libraries and newspapers. In 1998 he was prosecuted by a Frankfurt court for distributing a pamphlet titled *Goldhagen and Spielberg lies*. Remaining copies of this publication, issued by the VHO's German branch, were confiscated and pulped. In 2003 he and his brother Herbert were prosecuted for contravening Belgium's anti-revisionist statutes and he was handed a suspended prison sentence and

fined. The following year, in April 2004, Verbeke was sentenced to a year in prison and fined €2,500 for denying the Holocaust. In August 2005, he was arrested at Schiphol airport in Holland, served with an international arrest warrant issued the previous year in Germany. Germany had previously requested his extradition from Belgium. Both the Belgian and Dutch authorities also considered preferring charges against him.

Udo Walendy (Germany)



Walendy is a prolific German Holocaust denier, most notorious for his attempts to prove that photographs of the concentration camps were “faked”. Walendy has produced a series of pamphlets denying the Holocaust under the imprint *Historische Tatsachen* (“Historical Facts”). These were published through his own publishing house the *Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung*, which he founded in 1963. During the 1970s Walendy forged a close association with the Hancock family in Brighton who published a wealth of Holocaust denial material. Through them Walendy arranged the distribution of a German-language version of *Did Six Million Really Die?* and later translated Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* into German. He is the author of three books: *Truth for Germany - The Question of Guilt for the Second World War* (1964), *Forged War Crimes Malign the German Nation* (1979) and *The Brainwashing of the German Nation* (1999).

Despite his age, Walendy, who was born in 1927, remains an active Holocaust denier and was imprisoned for fifteen months in 1996, with an additional fourteen months added to this sentence the following year, as a result of his activities. In his native Germany Walendy sat on the executive committee of the nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD – National Democratic Party). He was an “expert witness” at both of the trials of Ernst Zündel in 1985 and 1988, claiming at the latter that documents proving the extermination of the Jews were faked. Having corresponded since the 1960s the two men first met at a conference in Los Angeles organised by the Institute of Historical Review (IHR) in 1979. Zündel organised a North American speaking tour for him after the conference. Walendy was subsequently appointed to the IHR editorial advisory board in 1986. The IHR later published his pamphlet *The Transfer Agreement and the Boycott Fever 1933*, which alleged a Nazi-Zionist collaboration that “enabled the Zionist organizations on three continents to work their magic across enemy borders, despite laws, and in the face of mounting antagonism from the German and other governments”.

Walendy has continued to be associated with the Holocaust denial ventures of the IHR founder Willis Carto (*q.v.*), most recently in 2006 at a conference in Washington DC organised under the aegis of Carto’s two journals *The Barnes Review* and *The American Free Press*. In 2003 *The Barnes Review* published some of his works. Latterly, Walendy’s works have

been sold in Britain by both Anthony Hancock's Historical Review Press (HRP) and Simon Sheppard's (*q.v.*) Heretical Press, who also published an English-language edition of *Forged War Crimes* in 1996. In November 2007, Walendy took over from Bernhard Schaub (*q.v.*) as chairman of the Holocaust Denial organisation, the VRBHV, which was outlawed in 2008.

Mark Weber (USA)

Mark Weber is the director of the Institute of Historical Review (IHR), once the world's principal engine of Holocaust denial. He also edited its magazine, *The Journal of Historical Review* which ceased publication in 2001. Weber was formerly a member of the National Alliance, a small openly national socialist group founded and run by the late Dr. William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries*. He spoke at its first general convention in 1978. Fast forward a decade and Weber could be found helping Bradley R. Smith (*q.v.*) establish his CODOH organisation, which aimed to take Holocaust denial to the university campus. Weber also testified for the defence at the Ernst Zündel (*q.v.*) trial which led *The Spotlight*, the newspaper run by Willis Carto (*q.v.*) to describe him as a "shining star". Having been brought into the IHR by Carto in the 1980s, Weber worked diligently for the cause.



The IHR provided a platform for a range of Holocaust deniers including David Irving (*q.v.*) who spoke from its platforms. However, in the 1990s, despite the modicum of momentum it had achieved, IHR became embroiled in a damaging dispute with Carto which led to his being "fired" and to Weber replacing Tom Marcellus, a scientologist, as director of the organisation. The victory was something of a poisoned chalice for Weber. Thereafter the IHR became embroiled in a protracted litigation with Carto which sapped their strength and reduced the standing of the IHR within the Holocaust denial community.

Weber was at the centre of another schism within the international Holocaust denial movement in 2009 when he published an article entitled "How Relevant is Holocaust Revisionism?" His conclusion, surprisingly, was that it was not that relevant at all and activists needed to retool their arguments to combat the overarching problem of "Jewish-Zionist power". This was not exactly music to the ears of a huge number of leading Holocaust deniers including Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) who was in the vanguard of those calling for Weber to step down following what was widely perceived as an admission of failure. Whilst the IHR continues to distribute Holocaust denial material Weber's article signalled that the group was to broaden its approach and it now sells a range of antisemitic propaganda through its website, which has diluted its specialisation in disseminating Holocaust denial materials. Weber has recently been an interviewee for Iranian television.

Bishop Richard Williamson (Britain)

Bishop Richard Williamson is a bishop in the traditionalist Catholic group the Society of Saint Pius XII (SSPX), excommunicated from the mainstream Catholic Church in 1988. Based at a seminary in Argentina, Williamson came to prominence in November 2008 when he gave an ill-advised interview to a Swedish television station. During the course of the interview Williamson denied the Holocaust stating: "I believe that the historical evidence is strongly against, is hugely against six million Jews having been deliberately gassed in gas chambers as a deliberate policy of Adolf Hitler". His comments caused even greater controversy because, at the time, Pope Benedict XVI was attempting to heal the breach with the SSPX leadership, reabsorbing the sect into the mainstream Catholic Church.



Expelled from Argentina, Williamson returned to England though having consulted with David Irving (*q.v.*), for his advice in the event of prosecution. A small group of Holocaust deniers, including Lady Renouf and Richard Edmonds (*q.v.*), gathered to greet him at Heathrow airport but Williamson was whisked away by several minders before being ensconced in a seminary in Wimbledon and issued with a firm edict to keep his mouth firmly shut. The German authorities subsequently prosecuted Williamson, though he did not appear in person. He was fined €10,000. Williamson hired the lawyer Wolfram Nahrath, a former member of the Wiking Jugend, a banned neo-Nazi organisation to handle his appeal. Bishop Fellay, head of the SSPX, ordered him to find a new lawyer on pain of expulsion. Williamson lost his appeal. He has recently accused the Jews of Deicide.

In October 2012 Williamson was thrown out of the SSPX for not following internal rules. The statement expelling him made no mention of his Holocaust denial.

Ernst Zündel (Canada)

Zündel is one of the godfathers of the contemporary Holocaust denial movement. A German immigrant to Canada, where he had lived since 1957, he was put on trial in 1985 for publishing and distributing Holocaust denial material, including *Did Six Million Really Die?* which was written by Richard Verrall, a senior member of the National Front (NF). He was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. When the first trial was overturned as a result of "procedural errors" Zündel was again put on trial again in 1988. A number of key figures in the international Holocaust denial movement testified on his behalf, including David Irving (*q.v.*), Professor Robert Faurisson (*q.v.*) and Mark Weber (*q.v.*), director of the Institute of Historical Review. He was defended by Doug Christie, Canada's lawyer of choice for neo-Nazis, racists and antisemites. Also roped into the trial was Fred Leuchter (*q.v.*), the American "engineer" who was despatched to Poland to "prove" that the gas chambers did not exist. The court upheld Zündel's conviction and sentence which was to be overturned in 1992 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional.



Zündel had been prolific in his activities, distributing pro-Nazi and Holocaust denial material, much of it bearing the imprint of his own Samisdat Publications. These days, however, the bulk of his activities are channelled through his "Zündelsite" website. His true affinities were perhaps revealed in his book *The Hitler We Loved and Why* published by White Power Publications in West Virginia, which portrayed Hitler as a quasi-religious figure who had brought salvation to Germany. Hitler's spirit, Zündel, proclaimed "soars beyond the shores of the White Man's home in Europe. Where we are, he is with us. WE LOVE YOU, ADOLF HITLER!"

His most curious work, however, was *UFOs: Nazi Secret Weapons*, which alleged the Nazis still maintained bases under the Antarctic. Prone to headline grabbing stunts, when the Canadian Jewish Congress advertised for a director of its Holocaust Documentation Bank Project, Zündel applied for the job though he failed to get his application in on time.

In 2005 he was deported from Canada (he had never obtained citizenship) to Germany and was sentenced to five years in prison following a trial. Zündel was released from Mannheim prison in 2010 where he was greeted by a motley crew of supporters including, from Britain, Michele Renouf, Peter Rushton and Richard Edmonds. Also on hand was his lawyer, Dr Herbert Schaller (*q.v.*).

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